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of the

Illinois State Historical Library

Transactions of the

Illinois State Historical Society

for the Year 1920

*TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
SOCIETY, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS,
MAY 14, 1920.*

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

(Printed by authority of the State of Illinois)

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THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President.

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville

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EDMUND J. JAMES.....Urbana
E. B. GREENE, University of Illinois.....Urbana-Champaign
MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, President Illinois College....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Ill. State Normal School....Carbondale
ORRIN N. CARTER.....Evanston
RICHARD V. CARPENTER.....Belvidere
WILLIAM R. CURRAN.....Pekin
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
COL. D. C. SMITH.....Normal
CLINTON L. CONKLING.....Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island

Secretary-Treasurer

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.



EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the **Illinois State Historical Society**.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed is to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELEC- TION AND DUTIES.

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

Section 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice-President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro-tempore*.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preserva-

tion of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary memberships may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided*, that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(Members please read this circular letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire—

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; material for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great rebellion, or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matters how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery, paintings, portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of our prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the State-house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Your attention is called to the important duty of collecting and preserving everything relating to the part taken by the State of Illinois in the late great World War.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(MRS.) JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

ANNUAL MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BUSINESS MEETING 10 A. M., SENATE CHAMBER, CAPITOL BUILDING,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order by the President of the Society, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, who acted as Chairman, and called the attention of the members to the fact that this was the twenty-first annual meeting. As there was a great deal of business to be transacted he, without further formality, asked that matters of interest be immediately taken up. He stated that the first order of business would be the reading of the minutes and called on the Secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting.

After Mrs. Weber had read the minutes Doctor Schmidt stated that if there were no objections the minutes as read would stand approved. After this action was taken, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, the Secretary of the Society, submitted her Secretary's report. Action on same was called for by the Chairman and as there were no objections to it, it was approved and placed on file.

The report of the Treasurer then was called for and submitted by Mrs. Weber. The same was approved and placed on file.

Doctor Schmidt called for further reports. There being none he asked Doctor Greene to speak on the status of the Historical Library.

Doctor Greene said that Mrs. Weber had touched upon a great many of the things relating to the Library and he would speak but briefly. He told that the Library had recently issued two volumes of the collections in order to give certain co-operation to the Constitutional Convention. One Illinois Constitutions, edited and prepared by Mr. Verlie of the Legislature Reference Bureau. The other, published from the files of the Illinois State Register, The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1847. These will be of interest in connection with the discussion of many of the same subjects at the present time. There are three volumes on the way and a series on Territorial Legislation edited by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Alvord. Also there is in contemplation an additional volume, the papers of George Rogers Clark, by J. A. James. This is to be published in a very short time and Professor Alvord will continue his records of the Illinois country during the period of its being under the sovereignty of the British. A brief statement will be made by Mr. Stevens describing the work done by the war records section. Doctor Greene spoke of the importance of this work and the necessity of arousing the interest of the people of the State in these matters. He stated that the Society would like to have gifts of material along that line as they had not a large appro-

priation. He spoke briefly of the interest of President E. J. James and told of his service to the University of Illinois and the great interest he had always displayed in the Illinois State Historical Library and Society. It was largely through the encouragement and assistance of President James that the series called the Historical Collections were first started and have since been under the director of Professor Alvord. It has been said by many that this series is the best of its kind. Doctor Greene agreed with the Secretary of the Society that a message should be sent to President James, sending him most cordial greetings and best wishes for many happy years to come. He stated he would like to make this motion and to request that the Secretary be asked to prepare such a minute and send it to President James. His motion was seconded and carried.

The Chairman, Doctor Schmidt, then called for further reports. Miss Osborne, chairman of the Genealogical Committee, gave the report for her committee. This report was received and ordered placed on file.

Further reports were asked for. The Committee on Programs submitted the program of the day as their report. Miscellaneous business was then taken up. The first order was that suggested by the various reports. On account of the loss of many of the valued members, in fact they were all valuable, the Chairman asked that the audience arise and stand for a few moments in their memory.

Mr. John H. Hauberg of Rock Island then make a few remarks about Mr. William A. Meese, a director of the Society whose death occurred in February of this year. At the conclusion of the tribute Mr. Hauberg presented resolutions on the death of Mr. Meese. His motion was seconded and carried.

Doctor Schmidt then spoke about Mr. Charles Gunther and his great interest in the collection of historical material. He stated that Mr. Gunther was an old-time collector; that his collection embraced all lines. He collected the oddest things, sometimes of no value whatever historically or otherwise. In going through his safe you would not know what you would find—he had the transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France and also the French copy of this transfer of Louisiana to the United States—imitation brass suggests of gold from California, probably 400 of them of perhaps no value whatever. He collected for this State a tremendous amount of material. On account of collecting in a time when things were cheap, he bought Lincoln letters for \$5 and \$10. He has in his collection a message from President Lincoln to General Grant: "General Sherman tells me that if you push the matter you will catch Richmond. A. Lincoln." Mr. Gunther bought that message for \$300. Now they are asking—a New York collector has offered \$4000. He has many Mormon newspapers, newspapers not spoken of anywhere, and has the first Mormon Register and has what is still more interesting an account of the stock in the Mormon corporation. In return they would give a cow and a few agricultural implements. As Mr. Joseph Smith put in \$2000 or \$3000 he got that much out of it. Others lost. Mr. Gunther had a tremendous collection of autographs. Large amounts of Lincoln material much of which he

had disposed of. He had the famous table on which Grant wrote the terms of Lee's surrender at Appomattox. A great deal of Lincoln material, hat, table, rocking chair from Springfield, etc. At one time he had the watch chain of Lincoln. Inasmuch as there was no possibility of the Historical Society's getting this collection Doctor Schmidt put his efforts into holding it for Chicago. He told of the agreement entered into by the Chicago Historical Society with the family of Mr. Gunther and spoke of the possibility of this Society later being able to acquire some of the duplicates.

Judge Curran of Tazewell County was called on for a report from his county. Doctor Uran of Kankakee was then called on for the report from his county which he gave. Mr. Simmons of the Manlius-Rutland Historical Society was then called on and asked for his report which he gave.

The next order of business was the election of officers. A nominating Committee was appointed—Mrs. Jamison, Mrs. Miller, Mr. Bradshaw, Doctor Earle and Mrs. Baxter.

Mrs. Armstrong then presented her paper. Doctor Schmidt thanked Mrs. Armstrong for her paper and said it would be a great addition to the records of the Society and the history of the State and that it would be read with renewed pleasure in the Transactions of the Society.

Mrs. Weber stated that the Board of Directors desired that Mrs. Richard J. Oglesby be made an honorary member of the Society. Mr. Clendenin made the motion that Mrs. Oglesby be elected an honorary member of the Society and his motion was seconded by Judge Curran and Mrs. Miller. Carried.

The meeting then adjourned until 2:45.

Mr. Stevens then spoke for a short time about the work of the war records section of the Illinois State Historical Library of which he is the Secretary.

Doctor Greene offered a motion that a telegram be sent to Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, who is ill in New York, and Mr. and Mrs. George A. Lawrence of Galesburg, who are ill in Chicago, expressing the hope of the Society for their speedy recovery.

At 2:45 the report of the Nominating Committee was received and the following names were submitted for officers for the coming year:

President.

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville

Directors.

EDMUND J. JAMES.....	Urbana
E. B. GREENE, University of Illinois.....	Urbana-Champaign
MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....	Springfield
CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, President Illinois College....	Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Ill. State Normal School....	Carbondale
ORRIN N. CARTER.....	Evanston
RICHARD V. CARPENTER.....	Belvidere
WILLIAM R. CURRAN.....	Pekin
ANDREW RUSSEL.....	Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....	Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University.....	Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....	Springfield
COL. D. C. SMITH.....	Normal
CLINTON L. CONKLING.....	Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....	Rock Island

Secretary-Treasurer.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....	Springfield
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Assistant Secretary.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....	Springfield
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Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted and that the Secretary cast the ballot for the Society which she did and the officers as nominated were declared elected.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*REPORT OF SECRETARY.

Gentlemen:

I beg to submit to you my report of the work of the Illinois State Historical Society for the annual period May, 1919, to May, 1920. As in the reports of most other years I have nothing of unusual or exceptional interest to relate to you. The year has been one of work and progress. We have been attempting to return to the usual routine of our work after the stress and excitement of the war and the unusual labors attendant upon the observance of the State's Centennial. We are still in our old quarters. We are more crowded by a year's accumulations than we were a year ago, but the steady growth of the Centennial Memorial Building inspires us to believe that before a great while your secretary will be able to report to you that the Historical Society has moved into new and commodious quarters, and will give you the history of the removal, describe the beauty and convenience of the new home, and we can hold the sessions of our annual meetings in the auditorium, which is to be a striking feature of the new building.

The State Architect hopes that within the coming biennium the building will be ready for occupancy and it will be when completed a building of architectural truth and beauty. The members of the Historical Society must now be collecting material for the historical museum which we hope to establish in the new building. Those of you who have visited the historical museum in the magnificent Historical Society Building at Madison, Wisconsin, can testify as to the interest and educational value of such a collection.

The completely equipped trapper's cabin with its primitive furniture and domestic utensils, its shooting irons and agricultural implements, the little cradles and trundle beds used when the pioneer family became more prosperous; the home spun and the home made clothing for men, women and children, the various kinds of churns, the grindstone, the well-sweep and the development of home and farm machinery are all exhibited. There too, is a cross roads store, equipped as such stores were before the railroad, the telephone, the rural delivery and the parcel post. In it is the post office and the drug store. I could devote all my time to describing the Wisconsin Historical Museum which is not at all the object of this report, but the Illinois State Historical Society should have an historical museum showing the growth of Illinois, in all its phases, in which the exhibit would be permanent

* The report of the Secretary was read to the Board of Directors and approved by it, and by its direction, read at the annual business meeting of the Society May 14, 1920.

and well arranged. You all know what interest the pioneer exhibit attracts at the State Fair and these relics are many of them lost between each year's Fair. A member of the Historical Society has offered to donate to the Society an elegant victoria which she used but little, an automobile having taken its place. This lady says that a horse-driven pleasure vehicle will soon be an object of curiosity. Did you not notice that the City of Denver passed an ordinance recently that after a specified time no live stock shall be permitted on the streets of that city and mentioning the horse as one of the prohibited animals. So, members of the Society let us begin collecting good articles for our historical museum before they are lost, that the pioneers of the State and their manner and methods of living may not be forgotten, buried in oblivion.

COUNTY HISTORIES.

I would like to have a committee appointed in each county to collect local historical material or at least collect information in regard to every book and pamphlet relating to that county, all editions of county histories, all Illinoisans who have written books and the names of the books. Try to make this list as nearly complete as possible and send a copy of the list to the Historical Society. The local material, the fugitive pamphlet, book or essay can only be found by the aid of residents of localities. It will be of interest to you and of great service to the Historical Society.

MEMBERS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN WAR WORK.

The Secretary is anxious to obtain a complete list of the members of the Society who were in the service of the United States during the great war. Of course, we were all in war service and I would like a record of the war service of each member of the Society. Practically all were members of the Red Cross, and I would like a record of what part each member took in the auxiliary work such as serving on committees of the State and National Councils of Defense, Liberty Loan Campaigns, or other organizations, and I want to know how many of our members actually were in the Army service and wore the uniform of soldier, sailor, marine or nurse. Although the majority of our members are past the age a surprising number of them were in active service. Let us make this honor list complete.

WAR HISTORY.

The last session of the General Assembly made an appropriation to the Illinois State Historical Library for the purpose of collecting and compiling the history of the part taken by Illinois in the great World War and through this appropriation a division of war history has been started by the Library. Mr. Wayne E. Stevens is the Secretary of the War History Division and he has been devoting his entire time to the work and is collecting and indexing a great quantity of valuable material. The Library is also publishing an exhaustive history of the Thirty-Third Division of the United States Army in the World

War. This division was largely made up of Illinois troops. The history is an exhaustive one, written by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Louis Huidekoper, a distinguished military historian. It is the expectation that two editions will be printed. One an exhaustive one with many maps and illustrations. This edition will be placed in public libraries; another edition, much condensed, that is, containing the narrative only, will be printed, and it is hoped that a copy of the last mentioned edition will be presented by the State to each soldier of the Thirty-Third Division who signifies a desire for a copy. It is an immense undertaking as there were more than 30,000 soldiers in the division.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR EDWARD COLES.

You will remember that the Directors of the Historical Society decided to republish as the Society's Centennial contribution the Life of Edward Coles by E. B. Washburne. This book was published in 1882 by the Chicago Historical Society and is now rare. This volume, the preparation of which has been superintended by Professor C. W. Alvord, has been enlarged with additional information and documents relative to Governor Coles and the important part which he took in our history. It will soon be ready for distribution. Members of the Historical Society will receive copies.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY.

The Centennial History is not yet completed. This has been a monumental piece of work and though there have been many vexatious delays, the value of the history is so great, and the work so well done, that when it is completed the delays will be forgotten or at least overlooked.

The preliminary volume, Illinois in 1818; Volume 2, The Frontier State; Volume 3, The Era of Transition, the Civil War Period; and Volume 5, The Modern Commonwealth, have been issued. Volumes I and IV are still in the hands of the printer.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The work of local historical societies was largely interrupted as was all other work by the absorption of their members in war work. I sent a letter to the different local societies throughout the State asking about their progress and I have received replies from several. A few of these I will read. Where the local society has a representative present at this meeting, this representative will tell you about its work. I have received inquiries from several counties asking advice as to the organization of county historical societies. These inquiries I have answered to the best of my ability, and perhaps another year there will be new county societies organized.

I have received letters from a number of societies, among them the Quincy Historical Society, the Morgan County Historical Society, the Woodford County Historical Society, the Evanston Historical Society, the Central Illinois Historical Society.

I try to impress upon members of local historical societies the need of patience and perseverance in such work. There are so many topics of present day interest; this is such a busy world that it is difficult to keep a sustained, continuous interest in historical work, but as history is the foundation of all literature and science, so the collection and preservation of the record of those who have made possible our great achievements of today, is a duty we owe to them and to those who come after us.

From a practical standpoint one has only to spend a little time in an historical library to learn of the manifold uses the practical people of today have found for the records of the past, the tax notices, death notices, entries of land, sales, advertisements and many other subjects; the correct costume for the fancy dress party of the different periods; genealogies, military services and last but by no means least the looking up of the other man's political record. What did he say ten years ago, two years ago, how did he stand on this or that question? You can imagine the interest in the files of newspapers. It is not necessary, however, for me to try to prove to you the practical value of an historical society. I only want the worker for the local historical society to have patience, not to lose courage with seeming lack of appreciation for it is but seeming not real—the pleasure your own efforts give you go a long way toward repaying you.

The Historical Society has purchased during the past few months a beautiful set of Stevens Fac-Similes of documents in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783. These beautiful folio volumes, 25 in number, are handsomely bound in red and gold, and are a great addition to our Library.

THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES.

The Historical Society, with the co-operation of other patriotic associations, has done a great work along the line of marking historic sites in the State.

Strangers have visited Springfield and have been surprised to find that locations in the city which are memorable because some part of Mr. Lincoln's life was associated with them are unmarked and unknown to the average citizen. Largely through the efforts of Mr. Henry B. Rankin of this city a movement is set on foot to suitably mark these sites. Committees of representative citizens, both men and women, have been appointed under the special patronage of the Springfield Chapter D. A. R., whose Regent, Mrs. James S. King, is chairman of the general committee. There are about fifteen important sites, some of which have already been marked, among these are: The three law offices; the Sons of the American Revolution have marked the site of the first office, that of Stuart and Lincoln; the Globe Tavern, where Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln boarded immediately after their marriage; the store of Joshua F. Speed; various offices in the old Capitol Building, now the County Court House; the Lincoln Home; the site of the old Second Presbyterian Church and the Wabash Station from which Mr. Lincoln left for Washington and where he delivered his farewell address to his neighbors and friends in Springfield (this has been marked

by the Springfield Chapter D. A. R.) and several others. All will be suitably marked.

The last session of the General Assembly appropriated a small sum of money to place a tablet on the site of old Fort Creve Coeur, in Tazewell County, near the present site of Peoria. The site of this fort of the Broken Heart, built by brave but unfortunate La Salle has been a disputed question for many years. The Legislature stated that the site should be indicated by the State Historical Society. The President of the Historical Society has appointed a committee from the most competent and studious of our members to decide on this location. The late William A. Meese was much interested in this vexed historical question and was a member of the Society's original committee on the site of old Fort Creve Coeur. The present members of the committee are Jacob C. Thompson, Springfield; C. W. Alvord, Urbana; Professor J. A. James, Northwestern University, Evanston. These gentlemen have studied the original reports in French and all later writings, history and tradition and will decide from the best and fullest evidence obtainable.

The President and Secretary of the Society and Professor C. W. Alvord by invitation of the Illinois Society of the Colonial Dames, on the 10th of October last, went to Prairie du Rocher and old Fort Chartres, where the Colonial Dames placed a tablet on the restored powder magazine at old Fort Chartres. The presentation was by Mrs. Paul Blatchford of Chicago, State President of the Colonial Dames. It was accepted on behalf of the State by Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society and member of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. The historical address was delivered by Professor C. W. Alvord. The party visited the historic city of St. Genevieve, Mo., and received many courtesies from Father Van Tourhenhout, the parish priest of St. Genevieve.

CAHOKIA MOUND.

Within the confines of the State of Illinois is one of the most important archaeological relics to be found in the world. I speak of the Great Cahokia or Monk's Mound near the city of East St. Louis. Efforts have been made from time to time to have the State of Illinois purchase the mound and preserve it as a public park. For many reasons the efforts have failed, though noted archaeologists from St. Louis appeared before the appropriation committees in behalf of the project, and testified to its historic importance.

High state taxation, the cost of the foot and mouth disease among the live stock of the State and the demands of the great war were some of the reasons why the appropriation could not be secured. Efforts will be made in the next General Assembly to secure the necessary funds to purchase and preserve it.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

The publications of the Society are in date far behind. The difficulty in obtaining print paper and the slowness of State printing is our excuse. In this delay we are not alone. Nearly every magazine

is in a similar condition. Every day we receive communications explaining that on account of trade conditions the dates of publication cannot be counted upon with any degree of certainty. The Transactions of last year's meeting are in the hands of the printer. The Journals will be issued as rapidly as possible although the word rapidly seems hardly appropriate. I wish to call your attention to an article in the last number of the Transactions—The History of Sunday Schools in Illinois by Mr. A. Mills of Decatur.

It is a satisfaction to report that the Society has published this contribution to State History. Mr. Mills was selected by a committee of the Sunday School Union of the State to do this work. Mr. J. H. Collins, a member of the Society, was a member of the committee. So little definite historical information as to the early Sunday schools was available that Mr. Mills' task was a difficult one but he devoted months of labor to it and the result is that the history has been written and published and is available for all future students for all time. Mr. Mills deserves the gratitude of all students of State history.

Other notable articles in the publications during the past year are a History of the Oregon Trail by J. T. Dorris of Salem, and the Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860 by Paul E. Belting of the School of Education, State University. These articles were written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for degrees from universities and are full of information and are creditable to the Journal. Mrs. Jamison has contributed to our magazine and her articles are always of great interest. Mr. Ensley Moore continues to help by articles on topics of State history. Mrs. A. W. Sale has contributed genealogical articles. Other members are urged to contribute; to send articles and to make suggestions as to subjects or speakers.

McCONNEL BOOKS.

Miss Osborne has succeeded in securing as a gift to the Society rare books written by John L. McConnel. These are: Talbott & Vernon, published 1850; The Glenns, published 1857.

GUNTHER COLLECTION.

The Chicago Historical Society has acquired by purchase the notable collection of books, manuscripts, pictures and other historical articles of the late Charles F. Gunther. The purchase price is, I believe, \$150,000, of which \$50,000 is to be paid at once. The raising of this large amount of money is a great and laborious task, but the character of the men and women in charge of the project assures its success.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, EDMUND J. JAMES.

I am sincerely sorry to be obliged to report that President Edmund J. James of the State University has not been improved in health to a sufficient degree to justify his again taking up his labors at the head of

the University. President James is one of the founders of this Society, and he has given it earnest and continuous interest. This I think he will continue. If his health improves, as I believe it will, he will have more time to devote to the congenial work of history and genealogy. He has been a director of the Society since its organization. I suggest that the Society send a greeting to him, with our best wishes for his speedy recovery.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

Gifts to the Library and Society are acknowledged in the Journal and so the time will not be taken to enumerate them.

Mr. Norman L. Patterson of Peoria has, however, sent us lately some interesting historical relics of Old Yellow Banks, now Oquawka. Few of us knew that Edgar Allen Poe once contemplated coming to the little town of Oquawka, Illinois, to start a newspaper. The story is an interesting one. Mr. Patterson belongs to an interesting and historic family. He is the grandson of S. S. Phelps, one of the founders of the town of Oquawka and the son of J. B. Patterson, who wrote the celebrated *Life of Black Hawk*. Mr. Patterson has presented to the Society some interesting relics of his family and of Oquawka. The story is interesting but too long to tell in this report.

MAILING LIST.

The mailing list for our publications is 2,456. This includes members of all classes:

- 18 honorary members.
- 21 life members.
- 1415 annual members and public officials.
- 516 libraries and historical societies in the State of Illinois.
- 174 libraries and historical societies outside of the State not including State Libraries.
- 50 copies sent out in the general distribution of State documents sent out by the Secretary of State through the State Library.
- 262 newspapers in the State of Illinois.

This leaves very few copies of our books on hand but as we have such inadequate storage facilities we can not at present take care of more. We keep our own reserve stock for the Library.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

The Society has lost during the past year by death twenty members. There may be others not reported to me. A heavy toll! Among them a Director of the Society, Mr. William A. Meese. Mr. Hauberg will speak to you about him and of his loyalty and friendship for the Historical Society. Brief biographical notices are printed in the *Journal*. The members who have passed away during the past year as far as known to me are:

Edmond Beall, Alton, January 31, 1920; Miss Cora Agnes Beneson, Cambridge, Mass., June 8, 1919; James K. Blish, Kewanee, Feb-

ruary 22, 1920; Dr. George W. Brock, Atlanta, February 17, 1920; Mrs. C. C. Brown, Springfield, October 12, 1919; Frank P. Crandon, Evanston, July 4, 1919; William Dingee, Chicago, May, 1919; La-Fayette Funk, Shirley, September 6, 1919; Frank R. Grover, Chicago, December 10, 1919; Charles F. Gunther, Chicago, February 10, 1920; Orrin S. Holt, Rock Island, 1919; William A. Meese, Moline, February 9, 1920; F. M. Muhlig, Joliet, 1920; W. R. Munce, Mt. Pulaski, July 17, 1919; Colostin D. Myers, Bloomington, January 13, 1920; William T. Payne, Chicago, May 9, 1919; James A. Reardon, St. Louis, November, 1919; Philip J. Stoneberg, Bishop Hill, July 19, 1919; John L. Scott, Springfield, May 9, 1920.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

May, 1920.

Cash On Hand.....	275.	
Dues received.....	600.	
Total on hand.....		\$875.00

Expense Annual Meeting, May, 1919.

Bell Miller.....	27.50	
Maldaner.....	180.00	
Warren Murray.....	10.00	
French Piano Co.....	9.00	
St. Nicholas Hotel.....	6.75	
		\$233.25
Returned checks.....	14.90	
Advertising.....	7.90	
Postage.....	30.74	
Library of Congress.....	1.31	
		\$288.10
December meeting, 1919		
Piano.....	9.00	
Chairs.....	12.00	
Total expense.....		309.10
Balance on hand.....		\$565.90

REPORT OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMITTEE.

To the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Since our last report we have issued an additional genealogical list which was published as Number 25 of the Publications of the Department; this was only a small edition but has been placed in the Libraries of the United States and the State of Illinois and exchanged with Historical Societies.

We have added to our collection some county histories of Ohio, Indiana and Maryland and are still searching for county histories of Kentucky, Virginia and the Carolinas.

Our reference work by mail increases and we try to meet the requests to the best of our ability, and with such care and research work as our collection affords.

Among our students this winter and spring have been quite a number from the English Department of the High School who were looking up their ancestry, and they have been surprised and pleased to find in the Library so much material on family history.

The following family histories have been received as gifts to our collection:

The Avery, Fairchild and Park Families of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island; with short narratives of facts concerning Mr. Richard Warren, Mayflower Passenger. Gift of Mr. Samuel Putnam Avery of Hartford, Conn.

Copeland Genealogy. Gift of Mr. Charles Copeland of Holdrege, Nebr.

Cory Family. Gift of Harriet C. Dickinson of Helena, Montana.
Elliott Family. The John Elliott Family of Boscamen, N. H.
Gift of Henry Ames Kimball, Secretary Nebraska Historical Society.

Lawrence Family. History of the Lawrences of Cornwall. Gift of Lady Durning Lawrence, 13 Carleton House Terrace, London, S. W., England.

A Family History in Letters and Documents 1667-1837. Gift of Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, St. Paul, Minn.

The Virginia Carys. Gift of Mr. Fairfax Harrison, Belvoir, Va.

As heretofore we ask the co-operation of members of the Society in securing for the Department such works on genealogy as will be of most service to students and workers in this field.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,

*Chairman, Genealogical Committee, Illinois
State Historical Society.*

REPORTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Evanston Historical Society.....	J. Seymour Currey
Henry County Historical Society.....	Miss Ella Hume Taylor
Central Illinois Historical Society.....	Milo Custer
Kankakee County Historical Society.....	Dr. B. F. Uran
La Salle County Historical Society.....	Terry Simmons
Manlius-Rutland Township Historical Society.....	Terry Simmons
McLean County Historical Society.....	T. C. Kerrick
Madison County Historical Society.....	E. P. Wade
Morgan County Historical Society.....	Dr. Chas. H. Rammelkamp
Quincy Historical Society.....	Miss Julia Sibley

EVANSTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EVANSTON, May 10, 1920.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society.

DEAR MADAM: In response to your inquiry regarding this Society I take pleasure in reporting its present condition, as follows:

Our membership varies from 150 to 200 members, reckoning only those as members who pay the yearly dues of two dollars. Our income is increased by an annual appropriation by the City Council of \$50, and by special contributions from time to time.

The Society has for many years maintained a course of lectures, sometimes more than one. No lectures, however, have been provided during the last year owing to the illness and death of our president, Mr. Frank R. Grover. Our Mr. Currey who was active in preparing courses of lectures in former years has found himself unable to undertake the task since Mr. Grover's death, but we hope that the lectures will be resumed under the new administration of Mr. William C. Levere, our new president. Mr. Currey meantime has accepted the office of secretary, having performed the duties connected with that office continuously for the time since the organization of the Society, but in recognition of his long service has been named "President Emeritus."

There have been no formal publications issued by the Society for some years, but Mr. Currey has constantly supplied articles for the local press on subjects connected with local history. During the last ten years he has written four or five hundred such articles, and it is quite probable that a volume will be published containing many of these articles convenient for readers.

The Society has in its possession some hundreds of volumes pertaining to the history of Evanston and the North Shore towns in its

vicinity and also a great number written by Evanston authors, as it is the home of large numbers of literary workers in almost every field. In addition, the collection contains many books on history pertaining to Chicago and the West in general. A museum has gradually grown up in which is represented a large number of Indian remains, flints, weapons, and objects of interest concerning the aborigines. Also, we have many souvenirs of the pioneers and of the Civil War. We are now forming a collection of objects illustrating the European War of 1914-1918. The Museum was of especial interest to Mr. Grover, to which he devoted much intelligent attention.

Our greatest need now is a new building, as the quarters we occupy are provided by the Evanston Public Library, and it is much in need of the space for its own use.

With warm greetings to the Illinois State Historical Society, we remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. SEYMOUR CURREY,

President Emeritus and Secretary.

HENRY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(By Ella Hume Taylor, Secretary.)

At the annual meeting of the Henry County Old Settlers' Association in August, 1907, there was created the Henry County Historical Association. General officers were elected with power to organize for historical work. Later, Township Representatives were delegated to gather historical material in their respective townships and report annually to the secretary. The officers decided it would be best first to collect and preserve historical material and a suggestion list was printed and given out. Reports were given by the secretary at each annual meeting of the Old Settlers' Association, and valuable material was collected, but until within two years there was no suitable place where this material could be safely kept and where it could be accessible to the general public. An appeal was made to the supervisors of the county for suitable quarters, and they have provided fine rooms for us in the county court house, all fireproof, and with cases for articles given and a fine vault; all well lighted and heated. So now we can appeal for more historical material, and as we have an efficient custodian in Mr. E. E. Fitch, we feel that valuable articles will be safely kept and records can be consulted.

We hope to arrange scraps of history, newspaper clippings, etc., in neat scrap books, one for each township, and have them indexed. We mean to ask, through the newspapers of the county, all who have pioneer relics, or historical sketches of value, either to present or loan them to the Association, and they will be carefully preserved and cared for. Although an appeal was made early in the late war for records of soldiers of the county, it was not until later that any real work was done as a county. The secretary asked assistance of the township representatives; war record slips were printed, and these representatives, or a substitute, were asked to get complete war records of every soldier or sailor in their respective townships.

Some have done splendid work. Others have not yet completed their lists, but we hope to have a thoroughly completed record of each one before long. Again the supervisors have assisted, financially and in many other ways, and they now plan to finish another room in the court house for war relics only, as well as to have suitable bronze plaques placed on the hall walls in the court house, recording the war service of all who served in the late war from Henry County.

ELLA HUME TAYLOR, *Secretary*.

CENTRAL ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Office of the Secretary.

1405 South Mason Street,
BLOOMINGTON, May 6, 1920.

DEAR MRS. WEBER: Replying to your letter of 5th inst. I have to say that I am sending you under separate cover, a copy of our first published report, which contains, I think, all the data regarding this Society for which you ask, and perhaps more. I had intended sending you this copy some time ago, but the matter was delayed on account of my moving.

So far as I know, it will be impractical for this Society to have a personal representative at your next meeting, much as we would like to, so we will be very glad to have you read any part of—or indeed all—of our published report, if you care to do so.

The names of our officers for the triennium, 1918-'19-'20 are: George A. Hodge, president; D. C. Ridgley, vice president; Milo Custer, secretary. Directors, George A. Hodge, Milo Custer, C. M. Laurence, Miles C. Grizzelle, G. Marks Piper.

With thanks for your many courtesies, I am,

Very respectfully,

MILO CUSTER,
Secretary, Central Illinois Historical Society.

KANKAKEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(By Dr. B. F. Uran.)

As presiding officer representing the Kankakee County Historical Society, I extend to you a hearty greeting, and congratulate you upon the very excellent, and highly pleasing and entertaining program presented at this session of your Society for our entertainment. The papers presented have been of a very high order, and have been enjoyed by us all. While the attendance has not been as large as at some of the previous meetings, the general character and interesting features of the proceedings more than made up for the lack of numbers in attendance.

You are especially to be congratulated, too, upon the wonderful amount of work done, and for what was accomplished during the Centennial year. Much credit is due your officers and committees for the

highly efficient manner in which the program for the celebrating of the Centennial year of the great State of Illinois was carried out.

It is my desire right here to extend a vote of sincere thanks from our Society, for the hearty co-operation and assistance rendered us in our Centennial celebrations.

The Honorable Hugh S. Magill, Jr., assisted us greatly in carrying out a program at two of our meetings during the year. At one of the sessions he greatly interested a very large audience made up of the very best people of the County, in an eulogy upon the history and wonderful progress and achievements accomplished in every branch of art and husbandry, the equal of which was never before heard in our part of the State.

Our local Society gave a very creditable account of itself in an endeavor of entertaining the citizens in celebrating the Centennial year. Our Society is in a very fairly flourishing condition and much interest is being manifest in the study of early local conditions. Much is being done in the way of procuring and preserving relics, and reminders of the early day history. The Iroquois and the Kankakee valleys are particularly rich in early pioneer and Indian history. The student of early history cannot help but be interested in what is in his reach here.

An endeavor has been made in the last few years in the task of the permanent marking of interesting historic spots in the County, of which there are many, and much more is contemplated and will be accomplished in the very near future.

Every community should become interested in this very important work, for the time is rapidly approaching when these matters will not be so readily procurable. When the present generation passes away it will be much more difficult to obtain material that is now available. Four very important historic spots in the County have been permanently marked during the past year, by the placing of a large boulder upon them. A permanent base of first-class cement is planted in the ground about four feet, plenty large to support the boulder, and while quite green the boulder is set upon this base, settling two or three inches below its surface. We now have a solid structure from the top to the bottom of the cement base.

I urge upon the citizens in the different communities to get busy and accomplish that which is now procurable.

**LASALLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
MANLIUS-RUTLAND TOWNSHIP HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

(By Terry Simmons.)

In earlier days to call another lad a liar was to invite retraction or a fight. It was not safe to do the calling unless you believed yourself to be physically the superior and that you were not certain of, as there were surprises in store when some little fellow in daring and alertness got in action before you, in your greater bulk, realized what was in store for you. Later, to quote a great man of old, "I said in my heart"—or was in heat—"all men are liars." As applied to the whole human race that included the women also, and my mother was a

woman! Was the charge true? There were no newspapers in those days and of course no editors and how could something that did not exist be accused of untruthfulness. I am speaking from practical experience in claiming that were the man of old alive today he would qualify his statement, allow for one exception, that of editors. But hold on, I forgot that I was not to speak to a gathering of my brother editors. Ask a group of the older dwellers in your city about the details of some event that happened there but a few years before, then read from your newspaper the printed report of the day's doings and which is the more likely to be real truth or the nearest so. Absolute perfection in news supplying is not of the earth but its closest approach is and ever will be the newspaper as a recorder of events. Do I know what I am talking about? Well, I ought to, having been a resident of Marseilles, my home, and ever knowing to all of importance occurring, the worth while, for half a century. For forty-two years of that period I published the weekly home paper.

Following twenty-five years of that publication, I printed in my paper, *The Plaindealer*, separated into common book-sized pages of $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches, to be cut out and pasted in order, a "Quarter Century History of Marseilles," a total of 534 pages, or, as books usually are printed in larger type than the regular reading matter and with wide margins, probably 800 pages. To issue a more complete, readable record of home affairs would be a most difficult undertaking.

Seventeen years of the weekly and the eight years additional are all to be similarly treated, constituting a half century of history of the home life of Marseilles, I feel justly warranted in claiming has no equal in the history of any town or city in the United States. Am I right in this? It is not necessary to add that it is richly and vitally interesting to Marseilles citizens for you all know what the home news as it regularly appears in your favorite home paper means to you. It will be my tribute to my people, to be preserved in the public library against possible oblivion for years and years to come.

Bowing to the trend of the times, I transferred my newspaper properties and interests to a son. They were consolidated in a daily of his publishing, whose life might be said to have started with the recent war and ended when it did, largely through inability to secure sufficient support in advertising to balance the so greatly enlarged cost of issue. This fate was not the exceptional one by any means, and the real meat of the situation was fairly official demand from the powers that be to cut the size of paper issued, then no larger than needed to satisfy subscribers, in order to conserve paper, this in turn enforcing a second cut, advertising without which no paper can profitably exist, then a third cut, the list of subscribers, a decrease that takes the soul out of the newspaper business, in effect, shuts out any possible growth. It had in it the song of the old barnyard hen, "cut-cut-cada-cut."

If there was any vitality left it had to go in the advance of the print paper price—I had bought it at \$40 per ton, but it was then \$75—with almost a certainty that shortly it could not be had at all, to the latest existing one of \$320 per ton, eight times a normal price.

An order for a single ton of paper rarely got consideration from the supply house, for the big fish, the carload man, absorbed the supply; he was the profitable customer where one could be taken on at all. Even he is being driven to the wall, forced in cases to own the mill in which the paper he uses has to be manufactured; aye, not only that, but the forests from which the wood for the pulp must come entering into the manufacture of the paper.

Publishers of early days used print paper with much of the stock there in rags lasting in quality. It was necessary to dampen the paper before printing on it and with no good appliances for so doing getting good results was a big problem and most vexing in solution. This was followed by the wood pulp supply, by all conceded a happy advance step in the right direction. But was it? Every publisher of repute, whose heart and soul are in the business, and who kept a file of his paper to be highly prized, now knows it was not. Print paper of today turns yellow, even if kept out of the light, and, worse than all, shortly decays. Relied on to preserve history, it is as a broken reed, a most deplorable fact.

It is amusing in a way, were it not so of a verity saddening and disheartening, to have some of our great men in the halls of congress introduce a measure to have a large appropriation of money made to encourage re-forestation of timber regions in order to again grow the wood from which pulp can be made. Must the newspaper world stand still? In reality such a thing is impossible, but rest, if that suits you better, the quarter century those trees must have to grow in? No, and again NO! The right help out of the difficulty must and will come in a substitute from which to make paper. Were we ever actually forsaken in any dire need, when that which we must have is for the time exhausted, unobtainable, and there is no immediate supply in the near future in view? No, and never will be.

But we at times are forced to have more of the optimism of a "Darius Green and His Flying Machine" in our make-up. To what a memorable result, the aeroplane, was Darius the advance runner, the poor fellow whom one of our most glorious poets held up to the gaze of thousands in greatest ridicule. Do you not long to have it permissible for Darius to be returned to this world of now, if but for the briefest time, to get the honors that so richly belong to him.

Face the situation. The historians of the age, the country newspapers, are being forced out of existence by hundreds, yes, thousands they say, in the crisis of non-supply of print paper, and more for a time will inevitably follow. Does that mean that historical societies must go down as well, lacking sustenance that is their life? With a faith of a Darius Green, laugh, aye, sneer at me as was he treated, the future will restore me to a place I should hold in your memories when I make the statement, there never was a stronger demand for historians than exists today to gather up and preserve the record of your life and mine, people everywhere, of the past and this era. I would have a historian of repute in each sizable community reporting to a county body—as such correspondence is now found in the papers of yet favored localities—at definite periods, the county record to be dupli-

cated to the state association as the rivulet flows to the creek, the creek to river. Why? An eminent author, in his last moments, turned to his son and said, I wonder what will the world most remember about me? Give us something to live for, earn a right to feel at the last we will not soon be forgotten when we are gone; our world has been the better because we had been in and of it; that there are heights above the dead level of the commonplace to which we should aspire because it is worth our while to do so, will be appreciated at its true value.

There is a rivulet in my city known as the Manlius-Rutland Township Historical Society. In common with so many interests, activity was flagged by the over-topping affairs of war. I happen to be president of that body. It is now proposed to restore and increase its membership, be able to report progress to be proud of. Next there is the larger body, The La Salle County Society, to also revive. As chairman of the Executive Committee of it there is ample opportunity to enlarge my sphere also. Both moves should point to the one upward result, accessions to State membership. Here comes in the duty of the State association to extend advance encouragement and help.

When the privilege was last extended me of appearing before this Association in this city of Springfield, my special plea was in behalf of the making of Starved Rock, in my home county, a state park. For any and every help in answering that plea permit me now to thank you with a most grateful heart. Are any of you regretting following a leadership that has made that historical spot one to be eminently proud of, with an annual visitation of thousands from not only our own great State but the nation and even world? Why not hold the next meeting of the Association there at a favorable time of the year? If attendance is too large for hotel accommodations at the park it is only about ten miles by interurban to either Ottawa on the east or La Salle on the west. La Salle County *needs* the awakening this would surely bring about. Will you do your plain duty, hold the 1921 session at Starved Rock?

And now, will you excuse me for introducing something personal? You have on your program at least a quarter century editorial brother of mine, Charles Bradshaw, of Carrollton, Greene County. Our interests, desires, successes, have been deeply fraternal. He will tell you of his home county as one to the manor born. He both cherishes and reveres it. Give him close, earnest attention and you will be amply rewarded for it.

The past is behind us, present here, future ahead, three distinct eras that really blend into one in the life we live. Each has its part to be played and neglect of opportunity in any one tells its own story to be deeply regretted when we shall have gone into that from which we came, the past.

I am to give you facts, incidents in the main common throughout our land, asking for you that broader vision making for universal welfare.

Continued successes and a greater field of usefulness in an ever enlarging sphere for the Illinois State Historical Society!

McLEAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS, May 12th, 1920.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

Your request of the 5th at hand. The McLean County Historical Society is getting along as well as can be expected in its present cramped rooms. We are in need of three times as much room. We have one thousand members. We meet four times a year. Our annual meeting is the first Saturday in March, and the quarterly meetings the first Saturday in June, September and December.

The indications are that the supervisors of the county will build a large memorial hall, and give us all the room we need, also for all the soldiers of the different wars. We have received money for our building fund through our donations, and some has been willed which will be due as soon as we get a building.

We have a list of the soldiers in the world's war of this county, and are assisting in getting up a book with their names and pictures, as well as any write-ups they wish. Nearly all papers read at our meetings have been published in both the daily papers.

As soon as our finances are in better shape, we expect to publish two more volumes of our most valuable and interesting papers which we have in our archives.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President, Hon. T. C. Kerrick.

1st Vice President, Judge Thomas Kennedy.

2nd Vice President, Scott Price.

3rd Vice President, E. H. Newcomb, Saybrook, Ill.

Treasurer, W. B. Carlock.

Secretary, E. Rhoads.

DIRECTORS.

T. C. Kerrick,

W. B. Carlock,

David Davis,

John G. Welch,

N. W. Brandican,

Mary L. P. Evans,

Sue A. Sanders.

Respectfully yours,

E. RHOADS,

Secy.

MADISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 13, 1920.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Madam:

Your communication of the Sixth inst. has been received. There seems to be an error as to the existence of a Madison County Historical Society. A number of our citizens are members of the State Society and Mr. W. T. Norton has been a Director but there is no organization of a Madison County Society in this place. Mr. Norton is the editor of the Centennial History of Madison County published

in 1912 which is a work of much interest. This no doubt has been placed in your Library. The records of the war have been sent to Washington. It is regretted that there is nothing to furnish you for the annual meeting.

Yours,

E. P. WADE (but not President).

MORGAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Jacksonville, Illinois.

May 10, 1920.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary, The Illinois State Historical Society,
Springfield, Illinois.

My dear Mrs. Weber:

The Morgan County Historical Society sends warm greetings and best wishes to the Illinois State Historical Society. We congratulate the State Society upon the great work which it has accomplished during the past few years, especially in its co-operation with the Illinois State Centennial Commission. We promise a hearty co-operation in your plans for developing among the people of Illinois a still greater interest in the history of our state.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. RAMMELKAMP,
President.

QUINCY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Springfield, Ill.

My Dear Mrs. Weber:

The president of the Quincy Historical Society handed over to me your letter of May 5th to be answered, as he has only just returned from a winter in the South and so is not quite so familiar with the proceeding of the association as he would wish to be.

There is really very little to report. We have during the year, the annual meeting in April, at which time the officers are elected and members voted in. Following this business meeting is a lecture by some able speaker, and then an informal reception.

There are four quarterly meetings annually of the board, when routine business is transacted and donations accepted.

We are constantly adding memorial tablets, with always applications waiting for space.

Our membership list shows something over two hundred, besides near fifty life members, with more promised.

We are contemplating some entertainments during the summer.

Very truly yours

JULIA SIBLEY,
Sec.

QUINCY, ILL., May 10, 1920.

PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING

of the

Illinois State Historical
Society

SENATE CHAMBER, CAPITOL BUILDING
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Friday, May 14, 1920

THE PUBLIC CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND
ALL SESSIONS

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1920.

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

- 9 A. M. Meeting of the Directors of the Society in the office of the Secretary.

SENATE CHAMBER.

- 10 A. M. Annual Business Meeting.

Reports of Officers.

Reports of Committees.

Miscellaneous Business.

Election of Officers.

Address.....Mrs. Edna Armstrong Tucker, Rock Island
Benjamin Walsh, First State Entomologist of Illinois.

Address.....Mr. Charles Bradshaw, Carrollton, Ill.
"Born One Hundred Years Ago—Greene County."

12:45 o'clock. Luncheon at the St. Nicholas Hotel. Price \$1.25 per plate. Please make reservations as early as possible through the Secretary of the Society.

SENATE CHAMBER.

AFTERNOON SESSION 2:45 O'CLOCK.

Address.....Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago
Twenty-five Years in an Industrial Community

Music.....Mrs. Gary H. Westenberger

Address.....Professor Arthur C. Cole, University of Illinois
Illinois Women of the Middle Period.

Music.....Mrs. Gary H. Westenberger

Address.....Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Chicago
Some Sidelihts on Illinois Suffrage History.

EVENING SESSION, SENATE CHAMBER, 8 O'CLOCK.

Music.....Miss Rebecca S. Scheibel

Annual Address.....Hon. O. A. Harker, University of Illinois
Fifty Years with the Bench and Bar of Southern Illinois.

Music.....Miss Rebecca S. Scheibel

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting
1920



FIFTY YEARS WITH BENCH AND BAR OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

(By Oliver A. Harker.)

The subject of this paper readily suggests a line of reminiscence. It is not entirely one of my own selection, but was suggested by a member of this Society who has for years been an untiring student of American history and an especially ardent student of Illinois history. I know some men, rather sensitive on the age question, who, while feeling flattered by an invitation to address a society of the standing and dignity of this one, would not feel flattered by the suggestion of a subject that would lead into a line of reminiscence.

The burden of the presentation will be to show (first) in matters of legal practice and court procedure, how the lawyers practiced and how the judges administered justice in the thirty counties composing that part of the State, familiarly designated as Egypt, fifty years ago; (second), the changes which have gradually occurred by reason of new legislation and the industrial development of that part of the State since; and (third), something of the leading lawyers and judges of that period who have since passed away.

I crave your indulgence while I, by way of introduction, give a birds-eye view of conditions in Southern Illinois as they existed fifty years ago. To fill an engagement previously made at long range, I, a lad of twenty years fresh from college, made my first entry into lower Egypt fifty-two years ago. I went to Vienna in Johnson County to teach my first school. I went with some misgivings because the popular impression in Northern Illinois was that Egypt was a benighted region, where the men made and drank their own sour mash, the women chewed "Granger Twist" tobacco, and the young people found their chief enjoyment in cock-fights, dog-fights and fist-fights. I was assured, however, by the president of the school-board, the leading physician of the place and the official with whom I had corresponded, that I would find Vienna a very quiet and orderly place. These words appeared in his letter,—“Our little town has a population of about six hundred people, five stores, one tavern, one church house and nary grocery store in it.” You must understand that the term “grocery” as then understood was a place where malt and spirituous liquors were sold, and answered the definition of that institution later called the “saloon.” As you may surmise, I was greatly relieved by the assurance that I was to teach school in a town where there was “nary grocery” in the church house.

At that time there was no railroad south of the Baltimore and Ohio South Western, then known as the Ohio and Mississippi, except the one line of the Illinois Central to Cairo and a short road of twelve

miles between East St. Louis and Belleville. The travel was chiefly by boat on the Ohio, Mississippi and Wabash Rivers, by stage coach and by horseback. Eighteen different lines of railroad now traverse that territory.

The major part of the land of the entire region was in virgin forest. Cattle, hogs and horses ran at large, and the farmer was compelled to fence against stock to protect his crops. The slow going ox team did the heavy hauling and most of the plowing. Outside the towns there were but few farm houses. Farmers owning two and three hundred acres of land lived in log houses. The houses consisted usually of two large rooms one of which served for kitchen and dining room and the other for bed room and living room and above was a loft where the older boys and the hired man slept. Large families were raised in quarters not more commodious. Many of the cabins had but one room and the loft. The finest timber in the Mississippi Valley grew in that region. Black walnut, hickory, white oak, poplar and maple, now so rare and so highly prized, were considered of but little value except for fire wood and fence rails. In fact, the farmer, desiring to clear a piece of land for the plow, looked upon the timber as an incumbrance. I have seen as fine logs of ash, oak and poplar as ever went into a mill dragged into huge piles and burned to get rid of them. Rich, productive land, now ranging in price from one hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars per acre, could be bought at from five to ten dollars per acre. Farming was confined almost entirely to the ridges and higher lands. What are now, after clearing, ditching and draining, the richest and most productive lands in that part of the State, were mere swamps, overflowed by the winter and spring rains, and, with their pools of stagnant water through summer, breeding places for malaria and mosquitoes. Why, in that day, the farmers and others living in the southern tier of counties, expected the annual siege of chills and fever (ager, as it was commonly called) in the fall as surely as they looked for the coming of Christmas, later on. At no other place in the State were health conditions so bad. But the draining of swamps and the straightening and clearing out of streams, in addition to bringing to productive use the richest of the lands, have served to make that part of the State as healthy as any.

The population of the territory embraced by the thirty counties I have in mind has increased more than four hundred per cent during the fifty years. Excepting East St. Louis, the increase has been chiefly in the coal mining districts. Outside of St. Clair County there were no coal mines of any moment anywhere. The rich fields of Perry, Jackson, Franklin, Williamson and Saline were untouched. The cities of Marion and Murphysboro each now boasting a population of more than 10,000, then fell short of 1000. Like increases have come to other cities in that locality. Herrin, Johnston City and West Frankfort, where there were no towns at all twenty-five years ago, are now thriving cities with police departments, courts of record and other metropolitan adjuncts. West Frankfort now boasts a population of 20,000. It is the center of the richest coal mining district in the Mississippi Valley.

Ex-Senator W. S. Morris of Pope County, in active practice in Hardin, Pope and adjoining counties for more than fifty years, is better acquainted with conditions in that part of the State during the "sixties" than any living lawyer. In reply to a letter written to him when I began the preparation of this paper, he said among other things:

"There was five undershot water mills on the Saline River, several on Big Creek and overshot mills on streams in Pope and Williamson Counties. Carbondale was a village of shanties, weatherboarded with clap boards, made with froe and axe in the woods.

"Cairo was a frog pond and mosquito preserve in the summer time—an ocean in winter. Kaskaskia was tumbling into the Mississippi River. East St. Louis had no record except as a rendezvous for the lawless, and as the *locus in quo* of the Wiggins Ferry Co. * * *

"It was somewhat difficult for the young lawyer to get in and to stay in court, mistake in form of the action, a bad summons, a bad return, a non-joinder or mis-joinder often proving fatal to his client. Sometimes relief was found by amending the first paper or by reference to the old statute of Amendment and Joefails. The Practice Act under the revision of 1874 and the chapter on Amendments happily did much to relieve the courts and the lawyers of unmerited censure.

"I recall how in the years just after the war a Democrat tried for life or liberty, would not suffer a Republican to sit on the jury if he could help it; so likewise the Republican was equally leery of the Democrat. This condition was fostered by the lawyers, many of whom were practical politicians, but very impractical lawyers. The aftermath of the Civil War had its full effect reflected in Egypt. The Williamson County vendetta, represented by the Bulliners and Hendersons, the night-riders of Green Cantrell, masked and hooded, who met their overthrow at the battle of Maddox Lane about two miles north of Old Frankfort, the Ku Klux Klan of Hardin County, the warring factions of the Belts and Oldhams, together with numerous killings, assault, etc., are returned in my memory.

"Throughout this region of the State these outbursts of lawlessness so frequent from 1860 to 1880 may be traced to anti-bellum times intensified by hatred engendered by Civil War."

Under the constitution then in force the judicial power of the State was vested in a supreme court, circuit courts, county courts, and justices of the peace, and such inferior courts as might be established in cities. The State was divided into 28 circuits, and for each circuit a judge and state's attorney were elected. The circuit court had unlimited original jurisdiction in all but probate matters. The county court, presided over by one judge, was limited in its jurisdiction to probate matters. Justices of the peace had jurisdiction in certain civil matters where the amount involved did not exceed \$100 and in misdemeanors punishable by fines only in an amount not exceeding \$100.

The circuit court was the chief court—the people's great court. The judges were paid the munificent salary of \$1,000 per year. And yet the position was sought and filled by some of the ablest lawyers of the State—A. D. Duff, W. J. Allen, David J. Baker, John H. Mulkey.

Wesley Sloan, and William H. Green. The profession was without the commercialism that attends it today, and lawyers could be found willing to leave a practice yielding an income three or four times greater than the salary to take the office because of the honor and distinction attached to it. The proceedings of the court were conducted with the utmost decorum. At each convening, morning and afternoon, the bailiff under direction of the judge, in due form opened the session in the court room and in loud voice made proclamation at the window. Court week, in those days, was the great occasion in Southern Illinois. The rude court room was crowded not with litigants, witnesses and jurors alone, but chiefly with spectators; men who had no business there, but were drawn to it for entertainment. They were eager to hear the conflicting testimony of witnesses and see the forensic tilts between opposing counsel. Sometimes the term would run over a period of two or three weeks, but such was the charm of the court room that men, with no earthly business calling them there, would ride in from the country every morning and as most attentive listeners remain until the afternoon adjournment. The court rooms were usually large, but barn-like affairs and rudely furnished. At one end about one-third of the space was fenced off for the judge, clerk, jurors, lawyers and such litigants as had cases on trial. The rest of the room was filled with rude benches, usually without backs, but in term time always occupied. The judge presided with great dignity. However intimate the personal relations between judge and lawyer outside the court room, however free and familiar the intercourse between them elsewhere, there was no evidence of it while the judge was on the bench. The people respected that dignity and stood somewhat in awe of it. At the tavern where the judge stopped a table in the dining room was always reserved for him and the itinerant lawyers. At dinner time, which was at mid-day, the landlord would not think of opening the dining room until the judge was there to enter, and he entered first. If some court matter delayed the meal beyond the usual hour, the other patrons, however hungry, had to wait. The people seemed to like these formal courtesies. I think the recipient did. It is certain that he was jealous of the dignity attached to his office and readily rebuked any infringement of it. Pardon an incident in illustration. Late in the "sixties" Judge Duff, as kind, lovable and approachable a man as I ever knew, was holding court at Harrisburg. It was the custom whenever a lawyer, party or witness not in the courtroom was needed, for the bailiff to go to a window at the entryway and call out three times in loud voice the name of the party wanted. One day when one o'clock, the hour for beginning the afternoon session, had arrived, the judge was not present, delayed by some matter at his hotel. Jurors, parties and attorneys engaged in the trial on hand were assembled. A mischievous lawyer suggested to the bailiff, a new man at the business, that he call the judge at the window. A moment later as the judge stepped into the court house yard he was horrified to hear in a loud voice from a window above "A. D. Duff, A. D. Duff, A. D. Duff: come into court." Immediately after taking his seat Judge Duff called the offending bailiff before him and proceeded in

most scathing terms to lecture him for his egregious affront to judicial dignity. And the bailiff, fearing a heavy fine and imprisonment for contempt, tremblingly explained that he intended no affront and that he had called him from the window because one of the lawyers told him it was his duty to do so. The offending lawyer, after being named, was called before the bench and saved himself from fine by apologizing and explaining that he made the suggestion in a jocular way and with no idea that it would be followed.

The public had great confidence in the court. There were few appeals. While the losing party for a time felt that he had been wronged, there was a strong general belief that when final judgment was rendered justice had been done. And so the losing party, if inclined to have his case reviewed by the supreme court, was discouraged by his friends and often by his counsel. Shortly after I was admitted to the bar I took a case decided before my admission, to the supreme court by writ of error. I was told by the clerk that it was the first case to that court from Johnson County in fourteen years.

At that time the custom of "riding the circuit" as it was termed, prevailed. The territorial jurisdiction of the state's attorney was the same as that of the circuit judge and sometimes embraced as high as six or eight counties. Those two officials traveled together. They were usually accompanied by several other lawyers. Except in the Ohio River Counties where there was steamboat transportation, they usually went by horse-back. Oftentimes lawyers would attend a term without any previous retainer, taking chances for employment after reaching the seat of the court. The leading lawyers to follow that practice from 1865 to 1880 were Judges Allen, Green and Mulkey and Dave Linegar of Cairo; Governor Dougherty and Colonel Townes of Jonesboro; Captain McCartney and J. R. Thomas of Metropolis; Judges Bowman and Youngblood of Shawneetown; Captain Davis and General Raum of Harrisburg; Marion Youngblood of Benton, and Judges Tanner and Casey of Mount Vernon.

The character of the litigation differed greatly from that which now occupies the attention of the courts in that locality. Much of it was over land titles, and trespass upon lands. Stock ran at large and the farmer was compelled to protect his crop by an adequate fence. Some hogs, cattle and mules, tempted by a fine growing crop, would break through the fence. A lawsuit would follow either by the farmer against the owner of the stock, or by the owner of the stock against the farmer who had undertaken to administer summary justice with a shot gun or a vicious dog. Replevin suits were frequent—many of them cases of mistaken identity over cattle and horses roaming at will and pasturing over the open timber land.

In 1875, and for several years following, it was not unusual to find on the docket of a small county in the first or second judicial circuit fifteen or twenty ejectment suits. The cause was to be found in the loose manner in which the early records were kept and the neglect of owners to have their title papers recorded. Now there are but few ejectment suits, although land is much more valuable than then. Through court action titles have become settled. Rarely was a per-

sonal injury suit brought. But with the coming of the railroads and the coal mines, suits of that character, especially in behalf of employees, became quite numerous and occupied most of the time of the courts until the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Act nine years ago.

The Supreme Court held two terms a year at Mt. Vernon. The dockets were small, the most of the business coming from St. Clair, Madison and Alexander Counties. But at the beginning of each term a great number of lawyers would attend, many of them without business but for social reasons. That was before the organization of the State Bar Association. The three judges comprising the court, Breese, Lawrence, and Walker, were recognized everywhere as among the ablest jurists in the land. I think I voice the sentiment of the older members of the bar of the State when I say that Illinois never had so strong a Supreme Court as during the period when those three eminent lawyers composed it.

Fifty years ago the county court, although a court of record, held nothing like the importance that it does today in judicial administration. That was due to its limited jurisdiction, the type of men who were usually elected judges and the loose manner in which its business was conducted. It had no common law or criminal jurisdiction and was limited to the administration of estates, appointment of guardians and matters of that character. The office of judge was rarely filled by a licensed attorney. A country justice of the peace was considered amply qualified, and the statute expressly provided that when not engaged in his duties as county judge he could exercise the powers of a justice of the peace. As a consequence little attention was paid to form; business was conducted with little dignity, and court records were kept in very loose fashion. In some counties administrators and guardians, after receiving their letters and filing oath and bond, sought no further sanction or advice from the court. No heed was paid to the law which required them to report annually unless some insistent creditor or other party in interest made complaint. When, in 1873, a licensed attorney was elected county judge of Johnson County he found hundreds of instances where no report whatever had been filed after appointment. He turned the attention of the clerk to the matter, and citations followed so rapidly that during the years 1874 and 1875 there were over three hundred cases against delinquent guardians and administrators.

What a harvest it was for the lawyers of that county!

Oftentimes creditors' claims against estates and claims for the care and nurture of wards would be allowed and paid without any record whatever. If the claim was sworn to and not contested the judge would simply endorse on the back of the paper, "Allowed." I call to mind a case tried before me in Jackson County about thirty years ago, in which the surety on a guardian's bond was the only solvent defendant. The suit was to recover for money received by the guardian in behalf of his ward from time to time for a period of twelve or fifteen years. There was no record showing any allowance to the guardian for the board, clothing and shelter of the ward. All that

appeared of record was a recital of the appointment, the approval of the bond and that the ward was entitled to and was receiving a certain sum of money at stated periods. The surety was saved from a heavy judgment through the industry of his attorney, who spent a month or two in searching through a mass of papers which had, upon the direction of the county judge, been thrown into goods boxes and stored in a vacant room. Papers were found in which allowances were made from time to time but the only evidence of it was the indorsement of it upon the back of reports and claims that had been filed.

In 1872 the legislature gave the county court concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court in a large class of civil suits and in all criminal cases where the punishment was not imprisonment in the penitentiary or death. The act provided that in cases coming within the extended jurisdiction, the pleadings and practice should be the same as in the circuit court. Unfortunately it went into effect when there was an unexpired term of office of nearly two years in the judges then presiding. With rare exception, the incumbent knew nothing about special pleading and little about the rules of evidence. His efforts to conduct the court and transact its business under the extended jurisdiction furnished many ludicrous instances.

The loose manner in which records were preserved was due largely to the fact that there were not fire-proof vaults attached to the clerk's offices. There were only three counties in Southern Illinois in 1865 that had fire-proof vaults in their court houses. Deed and mortgage records were fairly preserved but court records and court files were stowed away on shelves and in huge goods boxes. When the store room became crowded the boxes were carted away to the basement.

Admission to the bar was by an entirely different procedure from that of today. There was no state board of bar examiners, and the Supreme Court had not seen fit to prescribe any course of study preliminary to examination and admission. The only statute regulating the matter was one that forbid one from practicing law "without having previously obtained a license for that purpose from some two of the justices of the Supreme Court." The Supreme Court simply provided by rule that an applicant for license should present to any member of the court "a certificate of qualification, signed by the circuit judge and state's attorney of the circuit in which the applicant resided, setting forth that the applicant had been examined and found qualified, which was a sufficient voucher on which to grant a license. It was provided, however, that if the application for license should be made in term time an examination should be had in open court or by a committee appointed by the court. For reasons quite apparent from what I shall further say, few if any applications were made in term time of the Supreme Court. The route by certificate from circuit judge and state's attorney was the popular one. The method for securing the certificate was usually as follows: At motion hour some member of the bar would present the name of the applicant and ask that he be examined. The judge would appoint a committee, composed of the state's attorney and two other members of the bar and order an

examination and report. The state's attorney was so occupied with drafting indictments and looking after criminal cases that he seldom took part in the examination. At an appointed time, usually after supper and at a room in the hotel the applicant would present himself accompanied by a box of cigars and a fair-sized bottle. After the cigars were passed and the landlord had brought in a pitcher of hot water, a sugar bowl and some glasses, the applicant was interrogated as to what books he had read and whether he thought he knew enough to try a lawsuit. If the applicant was able to name the books and express confidence in his ability to conduct a suit the examination ended. The next morning the committee reported that on due examination it had found the applicant qualified for admission to the bar. A certificate of qualification signed by judge and state's attorney was issued to the applicant, who in due course of procedure received his license. I shall say, however, that a practice so loose as that did not prevail in the counties where Judge Duff presided. In addition to his duties as a judicial officer Judge Duff for a number of years conducted through the winter months a law school at Benton. He was a profound lawyer and took great delight in lecturing to students on law subjects. He would not consent to sign a certificate unless the applicant had taken a substantial examination and the examination was usually conducted by himself.

Notwithstanding the ease with which men at that day secured admission to the bar, I am quite sure that there are no abler practitioners in the State now than were the leading lawyers of Southern Illinois fifty years ago. I shall conclude by giving you my impression of a few of them. I should like to extend the list, but time forbids.

When a student at McKendree College in 1866, I first met the Hon. William H. Underwood of Belleville. He was then a practitioner of thirty years' experience and was recognized as the leader of the St. Clair County Bar. He had been a prominent figure in the constitutional convention of 1848. He had served with distinction as a legislator and as circuit judge. He had a strong personality, and, as I was at the time contemplating the study of law as soon as my college course should be finished, he made quite an impression on my youthful mind. He was subsequently a member of the constitutional convention of 1870 and was a very potent factor in framing and securing the adoption of that instrument. Although deeply interested in politics and his collection of political documents was rich and well selected, he was not an office seeker. True, he was, at different periods, a representative, a state senator and a circuit judge, and was a member of two constitutional conventions, but in each instance it was a case of the office seeking the man instead of the man seeking the office. He brought to the discharge of his duties as a public official a great store of legal knowledge, and due to that was his great influence in the constitutional convention of 1870. His name and fame rest upon his legal talents and attainments. In knowledge of statute law and the reports of our Supreme Court he had no equal. This was amply proven by his annotations to the Illinois Revised Statutes. Upon that work he devoted the best years of his life. It required immense

patience and application. By it he laid the profession, and especially its younger members, under lasting obligations.

Judge Sidney Breese will always occupy in the judicial history of the State a conspicuous place. He came to Illinois in 1818. His judicial career extended over a period of forty years and for a quarter of a century he was a justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Shortly after locating at Kaskaskia he was appointed state's attorney, which office he held until 1827 when he was by President John Quincy Adams appointed U. S. Attorney for Illinois. While holding that office he commenced compiling the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State, and in 1831 published Breese's Report, the first of a set of 290 volumes now used by the profession. You may be interested to know that his volume embodied the decisions for a period of twelve years, whereas the decisions of that court for a period of one year now fill four or five volumes. In 1835 he was elected circuit judge, and in 1842 was elected to the United States Senate. In 1850 he was persuaded to stand for the legislature and being elected, was selected speaker of the house. Soon after he was elected circuit judge and from that office was elected to the supreme bench where he had continuous service to the time of his death in 1878. We see from this short narration that this man gave to the State continuous conspicuous service for a period of almost sixty years. Time will not permit even brief mention of particular instances of his remarkable judicial service. I will go no further than to call as witnesses to attest the vigor of his intellect, the ripeness of his scholarship and his profound knowledge of the law, the reports of the Supreme Court of the State.

Judge David J. Baker of Cairo was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the sudden death of Judge Breese in 1878. He was a circuit judge and had filled that position for eight years to the entire satisfaction of the bar. I tried my first case before him when I went to the bar. Barring a few cases tried before Judge Treat at Springfield and others in the county court, my practice was confined to the courts held by Judge Baker in Johnson, Alexander and Pulaski Counties. On July 9, 1878, he was appointed Supreme Court judge to fill a year's vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Breese. When elected circuit judge of the First Circuit in 1879 I was so fortunate as to be elected with him, and we served together in that circuit until he was elected to the Supreme Court in 1888. Our relations were of the most intimate character. After he was elected to the Supreme Court he spent much of his time at Ottawa preparing opinions, I was doing like work as a member of the Appellate Court and we were in almost daily association. My estimate of the man is taken from a double view point, that of a practitioner and that of a judicial associate.

Judge Baker had not an imposing appearance. He was short in stature, much below the average; but he was every inch a lawyer. He was a man of exalted personal character. He possessed a discriminating and well trained mind. He was thoroughly impartial and was extremely anxious to reach the correct conclusion. He would patiently and exhaustively examine before deciding and was never willing to

decide until he felt that he thoroughly understood the case. In talking with him one day about the worry of deciding a close case he said: "I never decide until I reach a conclusion satisfactory to my mind. The decision may be wrong, but I am entirely content if by any process of reasoning I can reach a conclusion which satisfies me." With such a mental attitude he was rarely wrong. He was fearless and independent, ever ready to take the responsibility of doing what he believed to be right. I have seen judges who would feel terribly humiliated in changing, during trial, a ruling previously made, and so would prefer to let an error stand and escape the humiliation by subsequently setting aside a verdict on some other ground. Not so with Baker; I have seen him in a hotly contested trial, with the court room full of people call a halt, reverse a previous ruling and give reasons for doing so. Is it any wonder then that he was with lawyers the most popular circuit judge of his day and was held in rare esteem by the people at large?

Hon. John H. Mulkey of Cairo succeeded Judge Baker as Supreme Court judge after the latter's service of one year by appointment. He was essentially a self-made man. In his early years he followed the occupation of a tailor. He was thirty years old when he was admitted to the bar, but he rose to distinction with marvelous rapidity. I first saw him in the trial of an important chancery case when I was still a student before admission. He resided in Cairo but attended courts elsewhere. Excepting W. J. Allen, his practice extended into more counties than any lawyer in Illinois. It was my good fortune to be associated with him in several cases and to have him frequently before me during my first year of service as circuit judge. Notwithstanding the fact that he began the study of law much later than was usual, he possessed at the time I first knew him a wide and varied knowledge of it in all its branches. His ability to analyze evidence, to distinguish analogous cases, to weigh the strength of competing principles attended his high order of mind. Although upon the supreme bench but nine years, he left a wonderful record. No judge who ever sat on the bench could touch the very heart and soul of a lawsuit with more unerring certainty.

Immediately associated with Judge Mulkey as a practitioner was William J. Allen of Cairo. They were for a time partners in the firm of Allen, Mulkey & Wheeler. It was recognized everywhere as the strongest firm of lawyers in Southern Illinois. Judge Allen had served in congress and on the circuit bench. He was the most polished and adroit lawyer I ever knew. While not so profound a lawyer as Judge Mulkey he had not a peer in all Southern Illinois as an advocate. He had a most charming manner in addressing a jury and beyond question was the greatest "verdict getter" in the State. He left a lucrative practice to accept the position of federal judge when tendered to him by President Cleveland. He held that office and resided in this city up to the time of his death twenty years ago.

Another of the very able lawyers residing in Cairo at the time I was admitted to the bar was Samuel P. Wheeler, late of this city. I

knew Mr. Wheeler quite intimately. One of the first railroads to be built in Southern Illinois after 1870 was the Cairo & Vincennes Railroad. Mr. Wheeler early after its completion was made its general solicitor and while holding that position it was his duty to look after such legal business as the company might have in the various counties traversed by the road. He never "rode the circuit" as did Judge Allen and Mulkey. He never aspired to office, although he possessed in high degree the qualities of mind essential to the proper discharge of official duty. The only kind of office that he would consent to take was one connected with the administration of the school law. An educated and cultured man himself, he took great interest in all enterprises looking to the education of the youth of the State. That is attested by the great interest taken by him in the public schools of Cairo, where he lived for so many years, and in the schools of this city, where he spent the latter years of his life. He was for a good many years president of the Board of Trustees for the Southern Illinois Normal University. He was a business lawyer, and while he resided in Southern Illinois he had more to do with the industrial and commercial development of that part of the State than any man in the profession. So marked was his success that when Roswell Miller went to Chicago, where he became president of the C. M. & St. P. R. R., Mr. Wheeler was tendered the position of general manager of the railroad for which he had been general solicitor.

One of the most prominent lawyers of that day was Captain C. K. Davis of Harrisburg. Like Allen and Mulkey he "rode the circuit" and had a large practice in Saline, Williamson, Johnson, Pope and Gallatin Counties. He was frequently pitted against Judge Allen. As a trial lawyer he had no superior. His success in jury trials was marvelous. He had not the elegance and charm of diction of Judge Allen, but for analyzation of evidence, magnifying that which was favorable to his side, minimizing that which was against, and keeping constantly before the jury the strong points of his case, he was not excelled by any man I ever knew. He was not popular with the bar, although all recognized his ability. He was much inclined to the advice which the old lawyer gave his young associate, about to address the jury in a case where the evidence was against their client, "Abuse the plaintiff's lawyer." Although I never knew him to misquote testimony, he could indulge in hyperbole by way of illustration must effectively.

No member of the Southern Illinois bar was so highly esteemed, so warmly loved by the young practitioners, as Judge A. D. Duff. He was on the circuit bench for twelve years, 1861-1873. The business of the circuit was such that he was able to conduct a law school at Benton for several months during the year. His students afterwards became practitioners in that part of the State. But his popularity was by no means due to that fact alone. He was a big-hearted, sympathetic man. He was incapable of entertaining a dishonest or vindictive thought. After leaving the bench he located at Carbondale, where he maintained an office for ten years. He enjoyed a lucrative

practice in Jackson and Williamson Counties. He was a profound lawyer and was a great aid to the judges before whom he practiced.

Judge William H. Snyder of Belleville was in some respects the most unique character ever elected to the office of circuit judge in the State. He was a soldier in the Mexican War, and had a varied experience on the Western plains afterwards. He was exceedingly popular with the masses and was considered a better "vote getter" than lawyer. He was elected judge of the Circuit Court forty-seven years ago and for a great many years held the terms in St. Clair County and adjoining counties. He was not a profound lawyer but a man of considerable literary attainment. He spoke several languages fluently. He had but little patience with the technicalities of the law and would frequently brush them aside for the purpose of giving litigants what he termed a "square deal." He did not have a high regard for the decisions of our Supreme Court and never considered himself bound by them if they ran counter to his sense of justice. Consequently he was frequently reversed. Many amusing incidents are told of him while he was filling the office. I will crave your indulgence while I, in concluding this article, relate one of them.

He was holding court in one of the counties of Southern Illinois, when a divorce case between two old French people was called for trial. The wife had filed the bill, charging habitual drunkenness. The husband had answered, and then filed a cross-bill, charging extreme and repeated cruelty. The first witness upon the stand was the complainant. She knew but little English, although she and her husband had lived in Illinois for a number of years, and it was with great difficulty that she could understand the questions of the lawyers, and the lawyers could not understand her. After the attorneys had floundered along for some time without accomplishing anything, Judge Snyder said, "Let me interrogate the witness." He propounded questions to her in French. She answered quite readily and excitedly. He concluded the examination in fifteen or twenty minutes, but neither of the attorneys understood any of the questions asked by the judge nor any of the answers given. When the defendant was placed upon the stand the same embarrassment arose and so Judge Snyder took him for examination and conducted it entirely in French. Very little other testimony was heard and when both sides rested the judge inquired if the attorneys wished to argue the case. Both announced that they would be pleased to present their views provided the judge would translate the evidence, to which the judge laughingly replied that he was elected to perform the duties of judge and not that of interpreter. Thereupon the attorneys agreed that the case might be decided without argument. The judge immediately decided the case. He commenced by announcing that the parties were both old fools. After reviewing the history of their married life, as he had obtained it from them, he stated that they had lived in harmony and happily up to within the last four or five years when the old lady had become rheumatic and grouchy, and the old gentleman had indulged in his wine too frequently; that the old man was drunk most of the time and that the old lady on several occasions had, while he was drunk, beat him and

poured scalding water on him. There were numerous family spats which resulted in a separation and the commencement of the suit for divorce. He then turned to the lawyers and said that he didn't propose to separate these old people. He dismissed the bill and cross-bill at the costs of the husband. He then addressed them in French and talked to them for a period of fifteen or twenty minutes. As they stood, listening to him, it was apparent that both were tremendously affected. Toward the conclusion of his talk the old lady, who was standing on the opposite side of the table from the old man, drew her apron to her eyes and the old man commenced wiping the tears from his eyes with his coat sleeve. Just as the judge concluded the old lady went around the table, threw her arms around the old man's neck and after he had embraced her the two went out of the court house hand in hand just as happy apparently as they were when their marriage ceremony was performed.

Judge Snyder may not have been so learned in the law as some of his contemporaries, not so learned as some who are now occupying the position then occupied by him, but I am wondering if, in this day of "easy divorce," some of our circuit judges might not profit from his viewpoint.

BENJAMIN D. WALSH—First State Entomologist of Illinois.

(By Mrs. Edna Armstrong Tucker.)

The early days of every community develop many interesting characters, who stand clearly outlined against the background of pioneer days of courageous endeavor, sacrifice of material comforts for principles, tragedies, romances, heart-breaking failures and hard-earned successes that paved the way for our civilization of today.

Among those pioneers were unique characters, men of extraordinary ability, whose fame extended far beyond their own city or state. Such a man was Benjamin D. Walsh, the first state entomologist and a resident at the time of Rock Island. He was born in Frome, Worcestershire, England, in July, 1808, his parents being of the well to do upper class, one of his brothers becoming a physician; another, F. Walsh, was a clergyman, and a third, J. W. Walsh (Stonehenge), was the editor of *London Field* and the author of the best treatise on the horse in the English language. Benjamin D. Walsh was intended for the church and after the usual preliminary studies, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, to pursue an academic course, obtaining his Master's Degree in his 25th year and was designated a Fellowship. He resigned his fellowship, however, not desiring to continue the study of divinity. It is said that inconsistent conduct on the part of some of his colleagues turned him from the ministry and gave him a hatred of cant, sham and hypocrisy.

He became an ardent thinker along lines of social progress, something not countenanced in England's landed gentry, and published a pamphlet on University reforms, almost all of which he lived to see carried out. He also wrote for Blackwood's and other publications, besides newspaper articles galore, and in 1837 published a large octavo volume in London, entitled "*Walsh's Comedies of Aristophanes.*" This volume is considered remarkable, embracing the *Archarians*, the *Knights* and the *Clouds*, translated into corresponding English metres.

After marrying the woman of his choice if not the choice of his people he came to America at the age of thirty landing at New York and expecting to settle in Chicago. It is not known why he came to choose a spot so far removed from his birthplace and settle down contentedly—as he did—so early in life. Possibly the best explanation one can glean from his tendencies was his love of unqualified freedom and his philosophical trend of mind. When he saw the few houses and the low, swampy ground of Chicago, he decided he did not want to live there, so journeyed on west by ox-team, to the Red Oak neighborhood in Henry County, near Cambridge. This especial part of the country, rich in verdure, may have appealed to his aesthetic tastes and reminded him of the beautiful flower-strewn English lanes. Here he



Mr. Benjamin Walsh



built a mud-plastered log cabin, with a fireplace that took a log that had to be rolled in with oxen. A farm of 300 acres was purchased and tilled for about twelve years, until a Swedish colony settled in that territory and by damming the water at Bishop Hill, caused the region to become malarial. Finding that his health was being undermined, Walsh, at the advice of M. B. Osborne of Rock Island, moved to the town of Rock Island about 1850 and in 1851 opened a lumber yard at Exchange and Orleans streets (now 9th street and 3rd avenue), which he operated with moderate success for seven or eight years, when he undertook the erection of the two rows of tenements, "Walsh's Row," later known as "Pettit's Row," one facing north on Orleans street, the other fronting the east on Exchange street, with his residence between them on the corner. This building (304 9th street) has been moved from the corner and the east entrance turned to the north, and has been taken from and added to, so that but little of the original building remains. These brick tenements were built with the idea of giving a comfortable dwelling at a moderate rental and were far ahead of the town's development in convenience of arrangement and for those days was an investment that could surely be called a philanthropic venture.

Previous to coming to America, he had developed a strong interest in the science of entomology as peculiarly akin to the pastoral bent of his inclinations and had made fine collections of English insects. When the Walsh tenements were completed he gave up all business for the sake of pursuing his pet study and continued at it for the remaining twelve years of his life with an enthusiasm unflagging and energy indomitable. Soon his wide range of knowledge, his healthy outlook on general matters were appearing in publications and he became a regular contributor to the "Prairie Farmer," "Valley Farmer" and "Illinois Farmer." He wrote dozens of scientific papers for the Boston Society of Natural History and for years edited an entomological journal published at Philadelphia. Later, in connection with General Charles V. Riley, State Entomologist of Missouri, he established the "American Entomologist" at St. Louis.

The newspaper files of those days are filled with his trenchant thought on the welfare of the town. Something of his activities showing in his public spirit and unbridled hatred of all form of cheating. Having cause to suspect that the council was mulcting the city he ran for alderman for the express purpose of getting at the facts and publishing them. After exposing the fraud he resigned satisfied with having performed a duty and proving that he knew dangerous human bugs and knew where to stick the pin. He was waylaid and his life threatened because of the expose. This he considered a compliment to the truth of his findings.

Mr. Walsh had probably the greatest faculty for popularizing his branch of science of any scientific writer in the country being peculiarly fitted for this work. In the study of some specimens there were men in this country and in Europe to whom he deferred and from whom he copied in particulars, but in the universal knowledge of entomology it is doubtful whether his superior existed in this country or in Eu-

rope. He read all the well-known authors on entomology and made personal observations of insect life, collected specimens, until at the time of his death he had 30,000 carefully prepared mounted and classified specimens, the most extensive private collection in the country, and had won for him a national reputation as an entomologist. Among this wonderful collection there were naturally some duplicates, but they were insects found in this section and especially in Illinois. Fifty years after his death, entomologists have collected and described 300,00 specimens and it is considered that 2,000,000 is a moderate estimate of the species existing. The greater part by far of the insects in the world is quite unknown to man; many of the species are in the process of extinction, owing to the extensive changes that are taking place in the natural conditions of the world by the extension of human population and by the destruction of the forests.

Mr. Walsh received his appointment as state entomologist at the biennial session of the legislature in 1866-1867, when a bill was passed authorizing this state officer. At a special session held in June, 1867, Governor Oglesby on the 11th of the month sent in Walsh's name for confirmation, but the senate postponed action until the regular biennial session, the winter of 1868-1869.

Walsh at the behest of leading agriculturists and horticulturists started to work as acting state entomologist, awaiting confirmation, and issued his first annual report for 1867. He received no salary during this time as his regular appointment came only shortly before his death in November, 1869. By that appointment was begun scientific research that has meant thousands of dollars in savings to the farmers of this State and Middle West.

In politics, Walsh was a radical Republican and as late as Grant's campaign was a member of the Tanner Club of Rock Island and always turned out on parade as active as the youngest. He hated all forms of slavery and oppression. He believed in humanity and progress. Firm, bold, outspoken, he was always the determined and undisguised enemy of everything which he conceived to be wrong, yet he was genial and generous, kind to the poor and ready to aid in a good cause anywhere. He was distinctly a temperate man himself, totally abstaining from the use of ardent spirits and was decidedly opposed to their unrestrained sale or use.

It was probable his democratic ideals that made him so love his adopted country, for at no time did he ever express a desire to return to England, even for a visit. Well endowed with means and a private income, he was not suspected of the caste that education, money and family tree make in old England and labored as commonly as his neighbors, at times making the shoes that he wore or shaping by hand the harness for his horses. He seemed possessed of that physical balance that performs equally well either mental or manual labor.

He was a familiar figure about the streets and fields near Rock Island and was often a welcome visitor at the Holt greenhouse (located at 6th avenue and 31st street), where he gathered butterflies and insects that the flowers attracted. He wore a long cloak and a high peaked hat, cork lined, that gave him a quaint appearance. When he



Mrs. Benjamin Walsh



captured a bug or beetle that he wished to study, he would stick a pin through its body and attach it to the cork lining of his hat and in that manner bring it home. He was healthy and vigorous from a life passed in the green fields or along the brooks. The tap of his staff was well known upon our sidewalks, his rapid walk bearing testimony to the activity that tired not by age nor constant employment. He had the rude but genial simplicity of the scholar whose life is spent in the open air. He was slow and modest in conceiving ideas, but adamant in the advocacy of his opinion when once thoroughly approved by his judgment and observations. A man of wonderful erudition, he was a scholar of the old sort who had a childlike faith in learning. Horace and Cicero were entities to him and their utterances important and useful in his everyday life.

Mr. Walsh married in England an attractive young woman of good connections, Miss Rebecca Finn. With them to this country came a younger sister, Mary Finn, and a brother, the youngest of the family. Being childless their affections were lavished on this sister, who married into the Coldy family of Geneseo, Ill., and on being left a widow, married into the Grammar family near Geneseo. Her daughter, Emily Coldy, came to live with the Walshes and married William E. Pettit, a well-known citizen of Rock Island. Mr. Walsh believed that young women should not have callers later than 9:00 o'clock and if there was any delay would inquire of Mrs. Walsh, "Is that young man still here?" Mrs. Walsh would always give the 9:00 o'clock signal by winding the clock and closing the shutters. Mr. Pettit often wanted to escort Miss Emily to some entertainment, but the early hours prevented, so one night he turned the clock back and gained a precious hour. Their marriage took place in the old Baptist Church (where Memorial Christian Church now stands. The Walsh Memorial window in the First Baptist Church is an object of interest), October 15, 1863. Mrs. Pettit passed away December 25, 1876, leaving several children; Benjamin Walsh Pettit of Seattle; Harry McEwan Pettit, New York City, Fanny, now Mrs. William Giles, Belle, now Mrs. Harry Cain; Mary, now Mrs. John Graham, all of Rock Island. Two boys, John and William, died in infancy. In September, 1878, Mr. Pettit married Miss Sarah Ward of Rock Island. The children of his second marriage were Edward, of Seattle; Mrs. Hattie Lee, Mrs. Emma Guenther of Rock Island; Perry, of Davenport. A son Galt, died in infancy. William Pettit passed away in July, 1916.

Mr. Walsh's death was due to an accident. On the morning of Friday, November 12, 1869, he had started about 7:30 for Moline and had stopped at the post office, in the Mitchell and Lynde Building, on Front Street and had received a letter from England, which he read as he continued his walk up the Chicago & Rock Island tracks. He was very companionable with boys and Frank Hawes approached to walk along with him for a time. Walsh told him to run along this time as he wished to examine his letter and the valuable insect it enclosed. Above the roundhouse he was run down by a Chicago bound train and his left foot crushed. He had heard the train coming

but in the confusion of the tracks stepped directly into the path of the engine. He threw himself aside and escaped with a terribly mangled foot. Doctors Galt, Powers and Truesdale, Rock Island's well known physicians of early days attended him and found that amputation high above the ankle was necessary. In attempting to throw himself from before the engine, he fell heavily on his right side and received internal injuries from which he died within a week's time.

Unbounded wit and humor had storehouse in him and even in affliction he made jest, telling those about him "Why, don't you see what an advantage a cork leg will be to me? When I am hunting bugs I can make an excellent pincushion of it, and if I lose a cork from a bottle, I can carve one out of my foot." On the day of the amputation he wrote to a correspondent, "I have been fool enough to get my foot smashed" and after dwelling on matters pertaining to illustrating his next report, concluded with, "Adieux, yours ever, the 99th part of a man." He also wrote to the local newspapers, exonerating the Railway Co. and the engine crew from any blame for the accident. On being told about twenty-four hours before the end that there was no chance for recovery, he replied, calmly and mildly and with no sign of bravado that he had not lived 61 years for nothing: "I am as well prepared to die now as I ever will be. I fear neither death nor man." On the morning of his death, Mrs. Walsh tried to let him know that the end was near, addressing him formally as she always did. "Mr. Walsh, you and I have got to part." She had never known much about his business affairs and thought there might be matters that should receive his attention. He had always tried to spare her all worry and anxiety and replied that he was "strong" and spread out his arms to show his strength. Soon he grew weaker and motioned with his fingers that he wished to write. Pencil and paper were given him, but the marks he made could never be deciphered. He passed on at 10:00 o'clock Thanksgiving morning while a blizzard was raging, a strange close to a life spent in the green fields. Notwithstanding the bitter cold a long train of friends, two days later followed from the services at the Baptist Church to Chippiannock Cemetery where friends of many years, David Hawes, H. Hakes, Thomas Lighton, D. Lingle, P. L. Mitchell and Serene Powers lowered the body to its last resting place.

At the request of Mrs. Walsh, William Pettit and family returned from Livingston County, Missouri, where he had purchased a farm about a year previous, and took charge of her affairs. As soon as the death of Walsh was made known, General Riley came post haste from St. Louis and tried to gain possession of the collection, claiming that Walsh would have left it to him if he had had time to arrange his affairs and that it was absolutely necessary to have it for the continuation of the "Entomologist," as he needed it for reference. It is alleged he succeeded in boxing all the books and papers and nearly got away with the collection before being stopped. At least when the estate was probated charges for \$2.50 for three large packing boxes were entered by L. Kiesew of whom Riley purchased them. Through the

advice of a friend, M. A. Swiler, Riley's intentions were halted and the matter taken up with the State.

Riley agreed that if he could secure the collection to give to the State all the duplicates and all the harmful and beneficial insects found in Illinois. To this the family made objection. A deplorable feature was that the newspapers would not allow Walsh's executrix any statement of her side of the case, General Riley presumably bottling the source through plea of newspaper ethics and his being connected with journalism. He sought to keep the collection, believing it would be of more benefit. Had no controversy arisen as to its ownership, more than likely it would have gone as a gift to the Government. Through the direction of William Pettit it was sold to the State, the purchase price being \$2,500.00 which also covered a considerable balance of salary due Walsh at the time of his death, according to William LeBaron, Walsh's successor as State Entomologist, who visited Rock Island, purchased the collection and had it removed to Springfield, Illinois at the time when the new State Capitol was being built. Fearing that it might be destroyed by fire or some unforeseen accident, because of inadequate preparation in caring for it, the collection was sent to Chicago for safe keeping until such time as arrangements for housing it at the new Capitol could be made. It remained in the Academy of Sciences until the great Chicago fire, when the great Walsh collection went up in smoke. Among the close friends of Walsh was Dr. J. W. Velie, the ornithologist. Some birds of his mounting are in the Pettit home and as fresh as though lately prepared. Mrs. Walsh had been visiting the Velie's in Chicago and returned to Rock Island just the day before the fire. The orders of Hymenoptera, Lepidoptera and Homoptera were the fullest in the collection and seem to have been the favorite study of Walsh although the other orders were well represented.

Walsh had been making preparation to begin a popular and exhaustive treatise on Entomology, that would occupy all the remaining years of his life. Riley was going to illustrate it and the scheme of the treatise had been nearly agreed upon between them. Walsh had been busily engaged in studying the habits of the Curculio, that terrible pest of the plum cultivator and said in his peculiarly energetic way, "I'll circumvent that fellow yet. I've nearly fathomed his secret and am in a fair way to deal death and destruction to his pestiferous kind shortly."

The present United States Entomologist, Dr. L. O. Howard, in an article on the rise and present conditions of economic entomology, in "Insect Life" makes reference to Walsh's work. "Although not a naturalist by training, his work showed extraordinary powers of observation and his published writings, as well as the statements of his contemporaries, indicate that he possessed a remarkable mind. In this connection, however, we have occasion to speak only of his official work as indicated in his one report. In this report which is now unfortunately very rare, he treated particularly of the insects affecting the grape, the apple, and the plum and to this added, under the head of 'Insects affecting garden groups generally,' a chapter on the so-called 'hateful

grasshopper,' or migratory locust, *Caloptenus Spretus*. His treatment of the other insects is very thorough and his work in large part remains standard today."

Walsh had the foundations laid for a large and commodious building where he could have a large library and room for his collection that had been housed in the east flat of the "Walsh Row" facing Orleans Street. He had selected all the timber himself for it and the building (314 9th Street) was so well constructed that carpenters of today say that it is good for a hundred years yet. This dwelling when completed was occupied by William Pettit and family on the north side and the south half by Mrs. Walsh..

Mrs. Walsh had had a little of romance and tragedy. At the age of 18, the young man to whom she was promised to wed, sailed for America to make his way and a home for her and she was to come to him as soon as the home was ready. He never saw America's shores, dying on the voyage and being buried at sea. At 20 years of age she married Benjamin Walsh and sailed for the land of her dreams. The voyage covered nine weeks. Her young brother who accompanied them died on shipboard and was buried at sea. At one time the ship was on fire, but the fire was subdued by those on board and port was safely reached. Mrs. Walsh was terribly homesick in this new land and there were many things she did not like about the early log cabins "mud houses" as she called them. It was heartbreaking to have cherished silver brought from old England, lost through holes in the cabin floor, and it was no holiday to make out a grocery list for a year ahead, as Mr. Walsh went, once a year either to Chicago or St. Louis and bought the year's supplies. She was quite unhappy over the worms that would appear in the cornmeal before the year was over. She mourned so much that Walsh told her that if she could not endure it, he would take her to New York and put her on a ship for England. She never mentioned homesickness again. She was her husband's warmest appraiser, thoroughly in sympathy with his every idea, giving him leeway in his inclinations and worshipping his gods because they were his. He would become so deeply engrossed in some book that he would read at meals while the food grew cold. It was his custom to remain up till early hours, correcting proof sheets and writing, oft times not retiring, simply smoking a pipe for rest. Mrs. Walsh had been lame for years. During one of the absences of Mr. Walsh, her sympathy for their supposedly hungry cow took her up to the haymow for hay. Being rather stout, she fell from the ladder and broke her left ankle in such a way that a section of bone had to be removed. At one time she had been in a runaway and her right knee had been injured so that she always had to move with the aid of a crutch and was confined rather closely to her home. She was very strong in her likes and dislikes, loved children and was like a mother to the children of William Pettit after the death of his wife, and took Mary Pettit, her niece, to live with her to be brought up as her own daughter. Mrs. Walsh lived fourteen years with the second Mrs. Pettit, who was a veritable 'mother in Israel,' beloved by all who knew her—a bravely

patient noble christian woman. Mrs. Walsh lived to see her 80th year, passing away from paralysis, November 22, 1892.

Just why one man may love to speculate upon human ills and another have urge to seek the nestling in its home, is not man's secret to disclose. It is this unquenchable thirst after the *way* of things, this obsession to *know*, that has produced the large intellects that have cleared away so much of the miasmatic atmosphere that hides the beauty of the earth. A seeker to do good. Such was Benjamin D. Walsh.

The following strong testimony of his worth appears in the official notice of his death, received at the Executive Mansion at Springfield. "In the loss of Benjamin D. Walsh, State Entomologist of Illinois, there is gone one whose position may be filled, but his place never."

GREENE COUNTY, BORN 100 YEARS AGO.

(By Charles Bradshaw.)

Illinois is a domain comprising 102 counties.

Each of these counties has within its borders towns, villages and communities and these in turn are made up of homes—the homes of the people, the seven or eight million people who really constitute the State of Illinois.

We think of a wheel as revolving around its center, and forget that the friction or the motive power that causes it to move forward is applied to its outer rim, its circumference.

Historians sometimes forget that this principle of mechanics applies also to history.

The history of Illinois, as of all states and nations, has had its beginnings, not at Kaskaskia, Vandalia, and Springfield, but back in the homes—the pioneer homes and the modern homes—out on the rim of the wheel that moves the chariot of State ever forward. Whatsoever of stamina and rugged character has been stamped into our customs and into our laws was first developed in and around the log cabins that once stood in loneliness at the edge of forest clearings or out on the broad expanse of unfenced prairie.

The early history of Illinois is a composite photograph of life in these scattered communities and isolated cabins that made the pioneer counties of the State. There were fifteen of these counties in 1818, when Illinois became a State. Four more came into existence the following year, and at the session of the General Assembly during January and February, 1821, there was increased activity in this line, and seven new counties were formed. The centennial anniversary of these counties occurs next winter. The seven counties in the order in which they were formed, are Lawrence, Greene, Sangamon, Pike, Hamilton, Montgomery and Fayette.

This paper is to deal with the early history of one of the seven—Greene County.

During the spring of the year 1820, several house and barn raisings took place between Apple and Macoupin creeks, a region that, two years before, had been the uttermost frontier of civilization in the then newly born State of Illinois. During the summer of that same year there was an occasional "hoss race" within that same territory. In the fall there were husking bees and hunting frolics. These house and barn raisings, these horse races, these husking bees and hunting parties provided the only means by which the pioneers of that region could exercise their natural bent as social beings. It was 35 or 40 miles to Edwardsville, the nearest town and their county seat. Not



Statue of Governor Carlisle



a church nor a school house between the Apple and the Macoupin, nor for many miles in either direction beyond those streams.

Hence the typical social gatherings of a pioneer settlement—the house raisings and husking bees—were well-attended functions. Always there was one topic for talk wherever a few of those hardy pioneers foregathered. It was of the growth and future development of their sparse settlement into a political unit of the sovereign State of Illinois, with a capital of their own—a county, with a county seat located somewhere between Apple and Macoupin creeks.

The spring and summer of 1820 brought many accessions to the scattered settlements of that region, and the rapid growth gave weight to the agitation for forming a new county. The second General Assembly of the State of Illinois assembled at Vandalia, December 4, 1820. The future county, of course, had no representation in that body, and whether it sent any lobbyists over the bridle paths to the new State capital or not, can only be conjectured. Probably that was unnecessary. At any rate, a bill to create the new county was introduced early in the session, passed January 18, and approved January 20, 1821.

The act creating the county bestowed upon it the name "Greene," in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Greene of Revolutionary fame. The boundaries, as then defined, included all of the present counties of Greene and Jersey, and to this territory was added that of the present counties of Macoupin, Morgan and Scott. Thus the county became "Mother Greene" to a bevy of buxom daughters. Miss Morgan was first to set up housekeeping for herself in 1823; Macoupin followed in 1829, and Miss Jersey became a matron in 1839. Little Miss Scott remained in the Morgan household until '39 and then followed the example of her sisters.

The forming of Greene County brought on a contest for the location of the county capital. The contest was short, sharp and decisive. On February 20, 1821—just a month after the county was created by enactment—the five commissioners who had been named in the act met at a lone cabin on the prairie and proceeded to consider the eligible sites.

There were several of these. One was a beautiful mound about three miles southwest of the present town of Carrollton. Fifty years afterward a somewhat florid description was written by a man who remembered it as it then was untouched by the hand of man, and he declared that "the sun in all his wanderings had seldom shone upon a lovelier spot of earth since the day on which the flaming sword was placed at the gates of Eden." The owner of that spot, Thos. Hobson, confident that no other proposed site could compete with his, had laid out a town on that mound and had named it Mt. Pleasant.

But Hobson was an Englishman who had come out from his native country only a short time before. The War of 1812 had ended, but it left more or less bitterness rankling in the breasts of these pioneers whose lives and homes had been menaced by the Indian allies of the British. This probably had something to do with the result of that con-

test. But perhaps a greater factor in it was the personality and the popularity of the man who won.

The official report of the commissioners, as it appears in the records of the county, states that—"after examining the most eligible situation in said county, giving due weight and attention to the considerations set forth as to present and future population, etc." they had concluded that the most suitable place for said seat of justice was a point 88 poles south of the northeast corner of section 22, township 10 north, range 12 west of the third principal meridian.

The land thus described and selected was owned by one of the commissioners, but it is said that he refused to vote on fixing the site. The other four were unanimous. The man who did not vote and whose land became the site of Greene county's capital, was Thomas Carlin, afterward sixth Governor of Illinois.

Local historians have been content to add that, after the decision had been made, one of the commissioners paced fifty yards to the west and said—"Here let the court house be built;" that the town was immediately laid out and named Carrollton.

Many have since wondered why the town was not named in honor of its founder, and why, a few years later, the county seat of Macoupin was apparently so named. Several years ago a descendant of Governor Carlin—a man who had never been in the west—came out to visit the scene of his grandfather's pioneering. Quite logically he steered his course to Carlinville, and was puzzled to find there no trace of ancestral records. I do not know why Carlinville was so named; why Carrollton was not is partly at least a matter of tradition only.

We can imagine those four other commissioners suggesting that the town be named for Mr. Carlin, and we can imagine him declining the honor with the modesty of real greatness. "Suggest a name then." they no doubt said to him. And it is fairly well established that he did suggest the name. Himself a pioneer, he greatly admired those earlier pioneers who laid the foundations of a nation in the Declaration of Independence, and he especially loved the name of that signer of the document who, in order that no British high executioner would be put to the trouble of enquiring, wrote down his name—"Charles Carroll of Carrollton."

And so he gave to the town a name, beautiful in itself, honored in history, and significant of courage and fidelity to principle.

Perhaps it would be well at this point to pause a bit in the story itself, and introduce the cast of characters in this little drama, "The Birth"—not of a Nation—but "of a County."

Enter first a man on horse back, broad-shouldered, rough and rugged, a rifle slung across the pommel of his saddle, a hand shading his eyes, which gaze across an expanse of prairie that ends at the horizon, what Canada's famous mounted police have been to the lonely vastness of British Columbia and Hudson's Bay country, the Rangers were to Illinois one hundred years and more ago. When the Federal Government was unable to send troops to protect the settlers in Illinois from Indian atrocities, encouraged by the British during

the War of 1812, the settlers themselves organized as rangers. One of these camps was at Edwardsville, and was in command of Captain Judy.

"For several years," says Clement L. Clapp in his history of Greene County, "these brave, determined men rode over the bare and silent prairies for hundreds of miles, now chasing a band of fleeing savages, now hurrying to the defense of a threatened settlement. They were almost constantly in saddle, rarely slept under a roof, were independent of civilization for food or comforts, and exercised almost superhuman vigilance in keeping the Red men at bay. They were familiar with every feature of Indian warfare and their deeds of daring and endurance have been made the theme of many a thrilling poem or romantic tale."

In these expeditions against the Indians the Rangers became probably the first white men to pass over the territory that is now Greene County. They saw what splendid opportunities it offered for settlement—or would offer when the Indians were finally driven out. To a pioneer, the ideal spot for staking his claim was one that afforded first of all, good water; second, timber for building his cabin, and third, a situation at the edge of a prairie, to avoid unnecessary clearing for putting in crops. Proceeding northward from Wood River settlement, the hardy adventurers found no such combination until they reached Macoupin Creek. No less than a dozen or fifteen of these Rangers from Fort Russell came to, or crossed, the Macoupin to build their cabins on the very frontier of civilization.

Three men stand out conspicuously in this band. They were Samuel Thomas, Thomas Carlin and Thomas Rattan.

Samuel Thomas was the grandfather of Congressman H. T. Rainey, who now represents the Twentieth Congressional District, at Washington. Born in South Carolina in 1794, he began a race with civilization when he was eight years old by going to Kentucky. In 1813, at the age of 19, he set out on horseback for Illinois. After he and his two companions crossed the Ohio River, they found that the settlers had deserted their cabins and fled from the Indians. They were not deterred from their purpose, however, and pushed on to Wood River. When they arrived there Mr. Thomas purchased a rifle on credit, in order to join the Rangers.

A few months later, while he was serving in Captain Judy's company, the Wood River massacre occurred, and one of his sisters and her six children were slain by the Indians. In 1816 Mr. Thomas visited what is now Greene County, picked out the land on which he afterward settled, cut and stacked some hay and made other improvements. Then he returned to Wood River and the Indians burned his haystacks and destroyed his improvements. For two years more he remained at Wood River, and then in August, 1818, his desire to be on the extreme edge of things led him northward again. He was accompanied by Thomas Carlin and John W. Huitt, a brother-in-law of Carlin. When they reached Macoupin Creek, Huitt was unwilling to put that barrier between himself and civilization, and he stopped on the south side, while the other two crossed the creek and went on. Three miles

north of the creek Thomas arrived at the spot he had selected two years before. A beautiful grove and a clear spring of water had figured in his choice. It is recorded that—"Here Mr. Thomas killed a deer, cut a bee tree and engraved his name on the bark of a monarch of the forest, to indicate that the land was claimed." Then he built a cabin, and returned for his wife and household goods. With these loaded on an ox cart, he arrived at his new home November 9, 1818, and thus became the first settler in Greene County north of the Macoupin.

Thomas Carlin was born near Shelbyville, Kentucky, in 1786. From earliest boyhood, he had a natural love of adventure and was trained to endure the hardships of backwoods life. In the vanguard of pioneering, he went first to Missouri then to Illinois, coming here in time to serve through the War of 1812 in the Rangers. After the war he operated a ferry across the Mississippi some miles above St. Louis, and while there he married Miss Rebecca Huitt. As previously stated, he came to Greene County with Samuel Thomas in August, 1818, and when the latter paused to shoot a deer and cut a bee tree at the spot where he was to build his cabin, Carlin proceeded about three miles farther to the northeast. It may be remarked here that those big, outdoor men of early days liked to have neighbors, but they didn't want to be too crowded to breathe. Late that fall or early in the spring of 1819, Carlin brought his wife, mother and step-father to this spot and there built his cabin, the first dwelling place of white people within the present limits of Carrollton. The frame house he afterwards built on that spot was torn down several years ago, and there is nothing now to mark the place.

Carlin is described as a man of medium height, not heavily built, but having a pair of powerful shoulders; a man of iron nerve and much natural shrewdness and skill in dealing with his fellowmen. His honesty and fair dealing was beyond question, and he knew no fear. While he was register of lands at Quincy, it is said he frequently drove over the lonely road between Quincy and Carrollton, conveying a wagon load of gold and silver—the proceeds of land sales—and that these trips were sometimes made at night and alone.

After Greene County was organized Carlin was elected its first sheriff. He was elected the first State senator from the districts comprising Pike and Greene counties, in 1824, and served as senator in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh General Assemblies. In 1838 he was elected sixth Governor of Illinois, at one of the most trying and critical periods in the history of the State, and he acquitted himself with perhaps as much credit and as little criticism as any man could have done in that crisis. After retiring from public life he returned to his home in Carrollton, and died there February 14, 1852. More than 100 years ago he built his cabin under a great spreading tree; and under another tree in our silent city of the dead, a few rods from the site of the cabin, beneath one of the plainest, least pretentious of marble shafts, now rests his mortal remains. Within our court house square, probably very near the spot where those five commissioners made their decision, now stands a monument surmounted by an imposing, full-length bronze statue of Governor Carlin, erected by the



Governor Carlin's Old House



General Jacob Fry

State of Illinois in recognition of his service, and dedicated by Governor Lowden on July 4, 1917.

Thomas Rattan, third in this trio of Rangers, also took active part in the beginning of things in Greene County. It may be remarked in passing, that Samuel Thomas, adventurous youth, settled down to become a prosperous farmer and the patriarch of a large and prominent family; that Carlin, also adventurous youth, became the successful politician. Rattan, possibly as much imbued with the spirit of adventure as the others, became the energetic builder and business man, and had time also to enter politics. The three were types of the men who made and developed, not only Greene, but every county of the State.

Rattan built and kept the first log cabin hotel in Carrollton; built the court house that stood on the square for sixty years; built and operated mills; bridged the Macoupin with one of those old-fashioned wooden, boxed-up structures, that remained even longer than the old court house. With all these activities and a bit of farming on the side, he was drawn into political life, and reached a seat in the General Assembly at Vandalia two years ahead of Carlin, being elected representative at the first general election in 1822. As the county and the people became more settled life became too monotonous here for Thomas Rattan, and he moved to the great southwest. In Texas he again became a pioneer, and died there in 1854. I find it stated in a Texas volume of biography that Rattan was a direct descendant of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, for whom Greene County was named. Rattan's daughter, Annie Rattan, born in Carrollton in 1828, married James W. Throckmorton, one of the early governors of Texas.

General Jacob Fry, one of the early settlers, became a resident in 1821, accepted Thomas Carlin's offer of a free lot if he would build upon it, and began the first house in Carrollton—a frame house, mind you, for he cut the timber and split it into boards. But Rattan's log tavern has the credit of being the first building completed, for Fry stopped his own work to help Rattan. Fry was sheriff of the county for ten years, and near the close of that period officiated as executioner at the first public hanging in the county. Immediately after his unpleasant duty was performed he mounted his horse and rode away to join the company he had raised for the Black Hawk War. In that war he became a colonel, and at its close was made major general of the State militia. In 1827 he was appointed one of the Illinois & Michigan Canal Commissioners, and in 1856, collector of customs at Chicago. In the Civil War he commanded a regiment that did valiant service at Shiloh.

The very last one of those earliest settlers passed over into a New Country some twenty-odd years ago. Rowell Hunnicutt was of a type different from the others I have described. A year or two before he died, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, author of "Old Kaskaskia," "The Romance of Dollard," etc., visited Greene County and met and talked with the old man. He came as a boy to help Samuel Thomas in crossing the Macoupin, and his father settled in the bluffs overlooking the Illinois River. To Mrs. Catherwood in 1895, he said:

"Yes, I am a wild man myself yet. I wish I could go to a new country as this was in 1820. My father first moved his family into a cave in the bluff, near a spring. The time of the year was May. It was pretty living. We built our fire against the back of the cave, and the smoke rolled along the roof and went out at the cave door without any damage. This land was a paradise when I could stand on the bluff and look down in the river bottom and count fifty deer in sight. White men hadn't spoiled the country and turned everything to dollars. Neighbors thought of what they could do for one another, not of how they might take advantage, and the Indians were always honest." "Uncle Rowell" Hunnicutt, at 83, longed to hunt up the Indian tribes he had lived with and near, back in the early '20s. Nothing would have pleased him better than to slip back 10,000 years and be a cave man again.

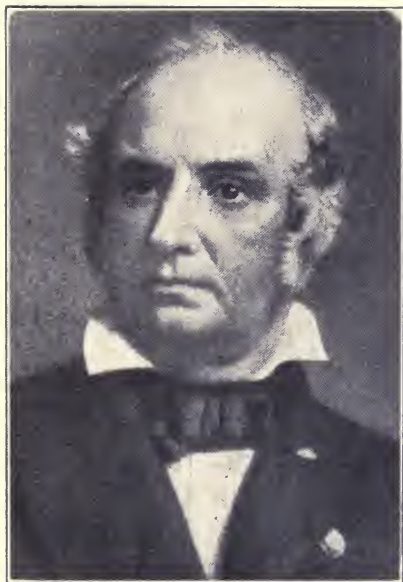
About 1825 or '26 there arrived in Carrollton a family, cultured but poverty-stricken, Baker by name. There were several boys, and one of them, a lad of perhaps 12 or 14 years, was destined to have his name writ large in the nation's history. Volumes have been printed about Edward Dickinson Baker, and the Illinois State Historical Society has listened to sketches of his life on more than one occasion, if I am not mistaken.* It would be impossible for me to add to his fame or to pronounce a fitting eulogy at this time.

But Carrollton has not been given credit for its share in his early life, and there have been conflicting statements about his boyhood. Several writers have sent him from Belleville to St. Louis in his young manhood and set him to driving a dray there. It has been established by the testimony of old residents of Carrollton that he was a mere boy when the family came there, and that he attended school at a log school house near the town. The family lived in a small log house near the public square. Moses O. Bledsoe, then county clerk, afterward clerk of the Supreme Court, took an interest in the boy, loaned him books, assisted him with his studies and finally suggested that he study law. Young Baker entered the office of A. W. Cavarly, Carrollton's first attorney, and was admitted to practice law when he was about 19 years old. In 1831, when Baker was less than 21, he married the widow of Samuel Lee, the first county clerk and recorder. The home they occupied—built by Samuel Lee in 1829—still stands as a part of the Hodges office building on the north side of the public square.

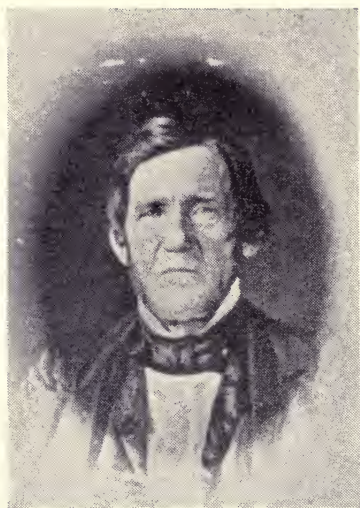
The year following his marriage, Baker went to the Black Hawk War, and when it was over, he chose a novel and adventurous way of returning home—floating down the Mississippi 300 miles in a canoe, with an Indian for his only companion.

It is said that Baker's father was one of the thirty-three victims of the cholera epidemic in Carrollton in 1833. It has been repeatedly stated that his mother died before the family came to Illinois. A citizen of Carrollton, still living, has told me that he distinctly remembers Mrs. Baker, as well as the rest of the family.

* See Article by James H. Matheny. *A Modern Knight Errant*. Edward Dickinson Baker. In *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Vol. 9, No. 1. April, 1916.



Col. E. D. Baker



John Russell

The story often told of Baker's boyhood—of how he was once found in tears because he had discovered that, being of English birth, he could never be president of the United States, has been handed down in Carrollton as having actually occurred there. Possibly it never occurred at all.

You already know how he came to Springfield and outshone the brightest intellects at the State capital; how he went to the Pacific coast and made history there; how he went to the United States senate and met and put to shame the eloquence of the secessionists; and finally how he buckled on the sword to meet secession in the field of battle and fell at Ball's Bluff.

While I am about the self-imposed and presumptuous task of correcting history, let me say that the credit for preventing bloodshed in the historic Lincoln-Shields duel belongs to a Carrollton pioneer, according to the recollection of old settlers. When James Shields challenged Abraham Lincoln in September, 1842, on account of the publication of some verses—which Lincoln did not write, but assumed responsibility for—it was agreed that the duel would be fought on an island near Alton, broadswords to be the weapons. The local story is that Lincoln and his second, Merryman, riding in a rickety old buggy, behind a rather dilapidated horse, reached the village, on the way to Alton, the evening before the fateful day, and stopped for the night at a hotel. A detail of the story is that during the evening Lincoln took a broadsword, walked out to the edge of town, where a luxuriant patch of tall "jimpsons" were growing, and practiced sword exercise for a half hour or so, to the almost utter destruction of the "jimpson" patch.

Lincoln had attended Greene county circuit court on several occasions, and had a few quite intimate friends in the town. One of these was R. W. English, who afterwards moved to Springfield. English and one or two others, perhaps, followed Lincoln next morning to the "field of honor," and persuaded the combatants to call the affair off. None of Lincoln's biographers seem to have heard the Carrollton end of the story.

Any account of the pioneers who helped in the making of Greene County would be incomplete without some reference to John Russell, the sage of Bluffdale, whose home, remote from the haunts of men, was sought by savants and scientists, even from the Old World. Russell was born in Vermont in 1793, and came to Greene County in 1828. The old home he built under the Illinois bluffs still stands. He was a writer of note, an educator of wide experience, and became editor of the first Greene County newspaper, the *Backwoodsman*, which was started in 1838 at Grafton (then in Greene County), afterward published for a short time at Jerseyville, and moved to Carrollton in 1841, where Mr. Russell's son-in-law, A. S. Tilden, was its publisher. The publication came to an untimely end late in the latter year, when, after it had presumed to rejoice over President Tyler's veto of the Bank bill, somebody entered the office at night and dumped the forms and type upon the floor. Russell died at Bluffdale in 1863.

Brigadier General William P. Carlin was one of the distinguished native sons of Greene County. He was a nephew of Governor Carlin,

and was born on a farm a few miles from Carrollton in 1829. In 1846 he was admitted to West Point Military Academy on recommendation of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, graduated in 1850, gained much experience in Indian warfare and had become a captain before the beginning of the Civil War. He was appointed colonel of the Thirty-eighth Volunteer Infantry in the summer of 1861; for gallantry at the battle of Stone River was promoted to brigadier general, and in 1863, for his distinguished services at Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Atlanta, was brevetted major general. After the war he was in command at several forts on the western frontier, and retired from the service in 1893. He then built a home in Carrollton, and died ten years later while returning from a western trip. His military funeral on October 11, 1903, with the governor, other state officials and an escort of militia in attendance, was an event in the more recent history of Carrollton. The late General John M. Palmer, upon whose staff General Carlin served in the Civil War, frequently referred to him as one of the bravest men he ever knew.

Others there were who came while Greene County was still young whose names should be mentioned in this paper. Charles Drury Hodges, a young lawyer from Annapolis, Maryland, stepped from the stage coach one bleak day in November, 1833, and his dapper appearance made quite a sensation in the quiet, homespun village. He hung out his "shingle" in Carrollton; a few years later became county judge; was elected to congress; served six years as circuit judge, and was treasurer of the Alton, Jacksonville & Chicago Railroad, the first steam road built through Greene County.

David Meade Woodson came also in the fall of 1833, from Kentucky, became the law partner of Judge Hodges, went to the legislature, was defeated for congress by Stephen A. Douglas, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847, and served nearly twenty years on the circuit bench.

The name of Samuel Willard is familiar to the Illinois Historical Society. He came out from Boston in 1831, as a boy ten years old, and his father taught school in Carrollton. He lived in the town only during his boyhood, but with a boy's investigating turn of mind, he became familiar with the modes of living and the primitive ways of doing things that were in vogue in a pioneer community, and seventy-five years afterward—in 1906—he contributed to this Society one of its most interesting papers.

All through the preparation of this paper there has constantly come into my mind a bit of quotation from ancient history—from the Old Testament I believe it is—

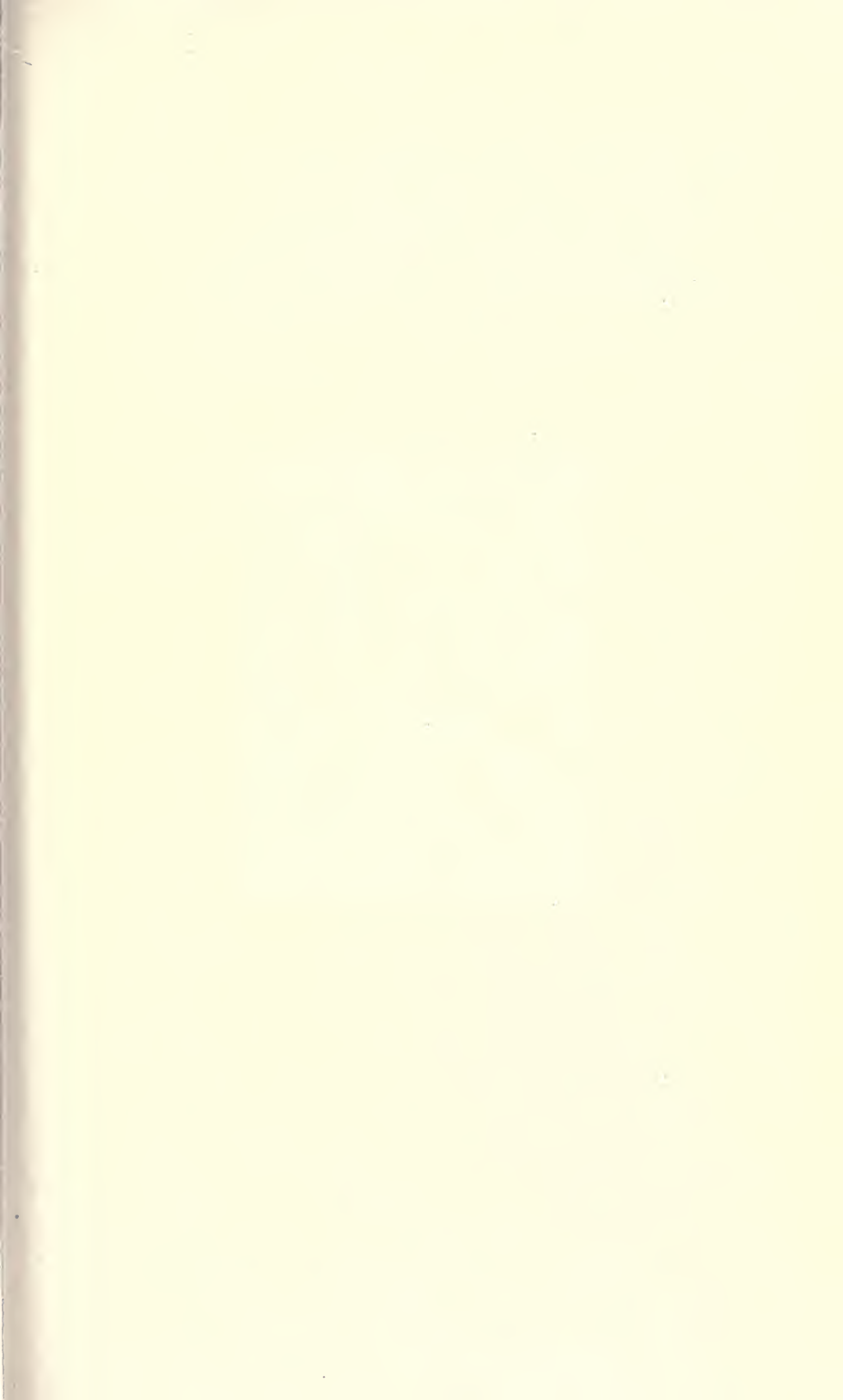
"There were giants in those days."

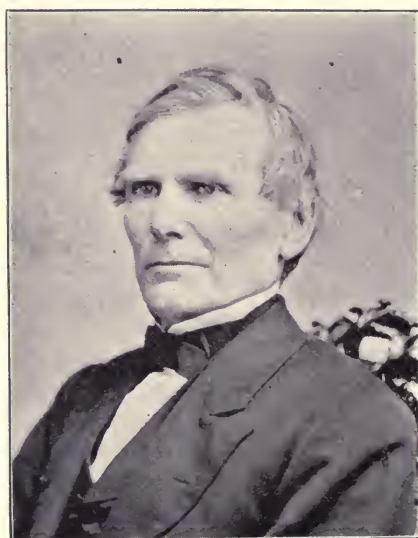
Those giants who carved Egyptian temples out of solid rock 3000 or 4,000 years ago were not more remarkable in achievement than the giants of intellect and character, and energy, who carved counties and states and a nation out of the virgin soil of a new continent.

Think of the changes that have been wrought in a century! Where Samuel Thomas drove his oxcart across the untracked prairie, farmers now drive their big touring cars along well-kept roads. Within a



C. D. Hodges





D. M. Woodson

mile or two of Rowell Hunnicutt's cave dwelling are now elegant farm homes, equipped with all the modern improvements of lighting, heating, sanitation and luxury. Where Edward D. Baker trudged to a log school house are now being established community high schools with the best equipment and most efficient faculty that can be secured.

There were giants in those days. And miracles have been wrought in a century. But let us not forget the giants in contemplation and enjoyment of the miracles.

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY IN THE STOCKYARDS DISTRICT.

(By Mary E. McDowell.)

(Head of the University of Chicago Settlement.)

I am taking for granted that twenty-seven years in an industrial community must be of value today because the struggle of the wage earners the world round is full of significance, and, if one could know the meaning of their struggle in the stockyards district, then one might get at the meaning of the universal unrest of the workers. To understand that struggle, to get at the point of view of the wage earners was my own reason for coming to this community, as it has been that of so many who have thrown in their lot with the struggling mass the existence of whose members depends upon whether they have a job or do not have a job. That very word "job" came into my vocabulary in '94 and has since become a sacred word, for I have learned that it means to my neighbors, food, clothing, shelter, and a chance to be human. It is the word first learned by the immigrant, the children lisp it and the aged cling to it to the end. "A steady job," "no job," or "please get me a job" is ever at the front of their minds and on the tips of all tongues.

It was in September of the eventful year of '94 just after Chicago's World's Fair, after the Pullman strike, when the stockyards workers went out on a strike in sympathy with the railroad men. The stockyards at that time was unorganized and therefore undisciplined, and the strike futile and disastrous. Disorder reigned back of the yards that autumn that I came to live on Gross Avenue, between "Whiskey Point" and Ashland Avenue. Cars had been burned a few blocks from this point, blood had been shed near the corner of Gross and Ashland Avenues where the regular army had been encamped. The people were left cowed and helpless.

The old citizens—property owners whom I learned to know—were conservative and critical of a sympathetic strike, but were also bitter in their denunciation of the attitude of the public towards the railroad union men, who, these conservative citizens said, put out the fires that the hoodlums and the mob set going. This was my first touch with the real struggle of labor for industrial democracy—an experience that made me question the practicality of the sympathetic strike, for the community was disheartened and the packing house workers possessed with fear and left unorganized. In my home life I had been used to men with courage—men who had gone into battle for a conviction, and now for the first time I was meeting men who "for fear of losing a job" went and came from work with a silent protest against conditions, and a sense of justice that they were afraid to express. When in my ignorance I would inquire about organization,

there would be sudden, awful stillness and the man questioned would afterwards avoid me for fear I might again touch on this forbidden topic.

For the first two years I slept in a front room so close to the sidewalk that all hours of the night I could hear the tramp of men going to or coming from work. The impressions are vivid of these first autumn morning when I would look out on the great army of men, women, and children, as they tramped to their work through the fog and smoke. That tramp, tramp, tramp of the "mighty army of the poor" and the significance of it will be with me always as a symbol of the tread of those who shall never cease marching onward and upward through suffering through mistakes and blunders, until some day the machine will become the servant and the brutish will become humanized.

In those days, we read often for comfort and hope, Thomas Wentworth Higginson's poem,

"I hear the tread of marching men, the patient armies of the poor.
Not ermine clad or clothed in state, their Title deeds not yet made plain;
But waking early, toiling late, the peers of all the earth remain—
The peasant brain shall yet be wise, the untrained pulse grow calm and still,
The blind shall see, the lowly rise, and work in peace Times wondrous will."

In these early days the Settlement home was upstairs over a Day Nursery; every morning when it was barely light in the winter, I would be wakened by the cry of the little children who wanted the mother to stay at home and not go to work. Here again for the first time in my life I saw the meaning of the job and how wage-earning women had to carry two burdens—that of the home and that of the wage-earning world. In that day there was no child-labor law and the packing industry found useful the boys and girls of eleven years of age, and men and women and children had no limit to their day's work. When I would ask why the people came from work at all hours of the day and in the evening, I was told that the killing had to go on until there were no cattle left to be cared for over night; and when in my greenness I would ask why a packing industry could not keep cattle over night when farmers did it very well, I was surprised to learn that because it cost something to feed and water them, men must butcher often sixteen hours at a stretch. It was then I learned for the first time how it happened that when in the morning these men, women, and children went out to work, large numbers could not tell whether they would return home for supper, or work from one to sixteen hours.

My social education—so slow in the beginning—was quickened by personal contact and neighborly relationship with all kinds of workers. One of my best friends was a German cattle butcher who began work at eleven years of age on the "killing floor," where he worked for twenty-five years until his right arm began to shake from the constant wielding of a huge cleaver, more like a battle axe.

This sober, intelligent and loyal worker was most unsocial—he much preferred to work by himself and to go home to his family, put

on his slippers, light his pipe, and read his church and foreign papers. He was not by nature "a joiner" but was happy in studying history at the Settlement with a young university student, who is now a president of note in a Western university.

Another pleasure the Settlement offered this intelligent cattle butcher was that of meeting the university student in a genial social atmosphere and giving the working man's point of view with regard to the organization of labor. The student on purely theoretical grounds argued for the organization of labor—while the conservative cattle butcher who had gone through the eight hour strike and the sympathetic railroad strike and had seen both fail, took the opposite view. The university student needed this opportunity to meet the working man face to face and with "feet under the same table," and to give and take ideas with perfect freedom. It was the unsocial cattle butcher who held to the opinion that if men were out of work it must be their own fault. He had seen the eight hour movement fail in the yards and had gone through the disastrous railroad strike, but had kept a steady job all the way, which gave him a sense of security.

But at thirty-five years of age this loyal worker had a new experience which he could not understand. Why after going twenty-five years on a "killing bed," where he had been one of the few skilled workers, receiving forty-five cents an hour, he should be suddenly dismissed without any reason given by the boss, except that his right arm was shaking and that he was unable to keep up with the "pace maker," who was a giant. The day he was turned off, he stopped in to tell me that he had been "thrown out on the industrial scrap heap at thirty-five years of age," and with a face white with emotion he said that he could not understand that his long and loyal workmanship had not been considered by those whom he had served for twenty-five years. "I understand now," he said, "why men are not sure of a job always, and why they organize, for at thirty-five I have reached my old age limit. I shall never again receive forty-five cents an hour." And he never did, though for a quarter of a century he had been working and had given his best strength to this trade that demanded so little skill and such physical endurance. After many odd jobs he again, for a short time, got back into the packing house in another department, at less pay.

In 1900 when I arrived at Cologne, Germany, on a summer's vacation, I found a letter from my German neighbor welcoming me to his Fatherland and announcing the news which he said he wanted to be the first to tell me: "The cattle butchers of the yards are organized and I am a member, and so strong are we that we have won without a fight a limit to our day's work" No more would they butcher until no cattle were left in the pens, for a cattle butcher's life was the first consideration of a Cattle Butchers' Union.

The "pace maker" was still in their midst but the speed was stopped at the end of a ten hour day. From that time on, the organizing by Michael Donnelly, a former sheep and cattle butcher, of all the departments of the packing industry, from the "squeegee man" to the floorsman on the killing floor, proceeded until in every packing district

in the country there was an Amalgamated Meat Cutters' Union with a reported membership of fifty thousand. It was the first time that the yards had been organized by a butcher workman and the first time that the unskilled, 60% of all the workers, were recognized. All of the different trades working in the yards were then federated into a Packing Trades Council presided over by a member of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher workmen. Michael Donnelly began this work of organizing by a house to house canvass, having the first little gathering on the prairie where no one could discover it and cause the members to "lose their jobs," for this was the constant fear before them.

At first, the women workers were not recognized as ready for organization. It was difficult to learn just how many worked in that square mile, where it was said thirty to forty thousand people were employed. Then, too, they had come into new departments so quickly that the men were not aroused by their inroads until they were given a knife as a tool. Only then did these "petticoat butchers" become a factor to be dealt with. The women had in the early days of this comparatively new packing industry been working in the canning department, painting and labeling the cans. When men went on a petty strike in the stuffing room, women—mostly girls—were given the men's places at much lower wages. In this way the girls entered the sausage room where they linked the sausages with their hands as tools; but it was in the trimming room that they were given a "man's tool," a knife to cut the fat from the lean, though women had used this tool in their home longer than men. In one packing house the room is kept to the freezing point and considered scientific. I visited a room colder than your ice box—a veritable cold storage box, where pork was prepared for shipping long distances. "Here nothing is wasted," the superintendent told the visitor. But the immigrant girls worked in mid-winter wrappings—while cold sweat ran down the walls of the enclosed room. As soon as they became Americanized they found a better job if they lived through the experience.

Piece-work as a method of modern industry was revealed to me for the first time by my friendship with Maggie, her sisters, and Hannah, who worked in the labeling room of one of the principal packing plants. Maggie and Hannah were born in Ireland, but came with their parents to the "Town of Lake" when they were infants. There was no child labor law when these girls were eleven years of age. The old country parents had the old country notions and were in need of money; so these young Irish girls began their industrial life in this rather new industry of packing meat. In the early days of the industry the girls painted and labeled by hand the cans filled by men and boys. There was no ten hour law to limit the day, and no child labor law; and there was no public opinion demanding light, fresh air, sunshine and fire escapes. The steam from the canning room permeated the labeling room, making the turpentine all the more pungent. This room had one row of windows and high stacks of cans obscuring the light from the middle of the room where the girls worked much of the time by artificial light. The half hour for lunch was in this same atmosphere. If they chose they could go into a dressing room, partly partitioned off from the work room and filled with the same turpentine odor. Maggie

told me that while she was at work she could not eat or even drink for it all tasted of turpentine.

The fathers and brothers of these Irish girls were working in the packing houses as butchers of cattle, sheep or hogs, while the Germans and after a time the Bohemians manned the sausage departments. It was when the men and boys struck and lost their places that the girls of the new incoming immigrants, Bohemians, Poles, and at the last, Lithuanians, took the places of the young men, and the boys, at one-third to one-half the wages, and did the work quite as well and with much less "fooling." For boys liked to play with knives at the risk of injury to themselves and others, while the girls took their work seriously and patiently, especially if it were piece work. Maggie represented the serious idealistic Irish type while Hannah was the social solvent of the shop, loved by all the girls, friendly with the boss and the forelady, until her sense of injustice was aroused; then she was the one inspiring to action and became for the moment a leader. Maggie had fine ambitions; Hannah had few, except to aid Maggie with her loyal admiration. Maggie wanted some things in her home that only her wages could procure. The old country father and mother could not understand Maggie's untiring, unrelenting ambition for a parlor with a piano, where she and her beautiful young sisters could have company. She wanted privacy—a room for herself—and comforts for the father and mother who had worked hard all their lives. Maggie had long, tapering fingers and a nervous temperament that could be keyed to a speed that was marvelous while it lasted. She could paint cans by the many thousands a week and often made \$22.00 a week. Just when Maggie, the unconscious "pace maker" of the shop would reach the goal of \$22.00 a week and begin to feel that she could secure the necessities of her fine nature, a cut would come, and again she would urge herself and all her co-workers to renewed and more difficult speed, and once more she would reach the \$22.00 a week mark, and again would come the cut in wages by adding a greater number of cans to be painted for a stipulated amount. It was after the third cut that the Irish girls began to see the method of the "boss," and Maggie and Hannah called a strike in the shop. All the girls laid down their tools, and when the boss was obdurate, Hannah tied a red handkerchief to her umbrella and the girls marched up and down the streets of Packing-Town, having no one to turn to in this time of distress, for they were without organization. The men had no union at that time. They had heard of some Knights of Labor and they were determined to appeal to these knights. But they received no response from the men.

At last they organized a Maud Gonne Club, in honor of the only patriot they knew. This organization took place about the sick bed of Maggie, who was found to have tuberculosis, and who pleaded with them to be as courageous and unselfish as the Irish heroine who suffered for Home Rule; for, said Maggie, "You know we must work for those who come after us." The Maud Gonne Club had a short life but the memory of it held this small group together until Michael Donnelly organized the men and the appeal for help from the girls to

the Settlement brought them and Mr. Donnelly together resulting in the local which was organized with ten girls from several packing houses as charter members. This was the first Packing House Woman's Union in the Meat Cutters' organization. Maggie lived just long enough to serve as their first vice president.

I shall never forget that meeting very early in the organization when two of the young women who had worked for fifteen years in one packing house were discharged because they were discovered to be officers of the Union. But this experience, disheartening as it was to me, only inspired the Irish girls to renewed and eager efforts. The girls of the red flag demonstration had not been able to get back to work. They formed a group of so-called "black listed girls," who now began to work in earnest for the Union which they hoped would protect them from the injustice of "speeding up" followed by "cuts."

The next significant experience of this Union of "petticoat butchers" was the night of a thunderstorm when we sat, a frightened group, in the Settlement Gymnasium and discussed whether it would be harmful or helpful to march with the men on Labor Day of 1903; for the timid ones felt that all who marched would lose their jobs, as the officers had a few weeks before. The lightning and the thunder filled all with present and future fear, but at last the Irish spirit rose above the storm and it was decided that they would not march but would ride in busses, sing labor songs, wear white dresses, and carry the flag of the red, white, and blue.

It was a pretty sight on Labor Day when the two "busses," filled with packing house girls in white—young, attractive, full of courage, singing of Labor, rode out of Gross Avenue to meet a procession of men who were also running a great risk that day. Perhaps they too would never go back to the job so necessary to their existence. The effect of that act on Labor Day—of the thousands marching together for collective bargaining—was magical.

At the next meeting of the Woman's Union, a crowd of girls and women stood waiting at the door for membership, and the following meeting brought in immigrant girls who needed interpreters to aid in their initiation. It was a dramatic scene, the night when the first colored girl asked for admission. The president, an Irish girl whose father before union days had left his job because a colored man had been put to work with him, was naturally expected to be prejudiced against the reception of Negro women. Hannah as doorkeeper called out in her own social way, "A colored sister is at the door. What'll I do with her?" "Admit her," called back the president, "and let all of ye's give her a hearty welcome." The tall, dignified, good-looking, well-dressed colored girl, much frightened, walked down the center aisle of the hall while the room rang with cheers and the clapping of hands. Soon after at a meeting, when the question in the ritual, "Have you any grievances?" was put to the house full of girls, black and white, Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, German, Irish, Croatian, and Hungarian, a shy, sensitive, colored girl arose and said she had a grievance against a Polish girl in the shop who was always teasing her. The president called them both up before the Union and made

each tell what the other had done. "She called me a Pollock first, before I called her a nigger." Then the president arose and said, "Ain't you ashamed of yourselves? You promised in the Union to be sisters and here you are fighting. Now shake hands and don't you bring any more of your personal grievances here. Tell it to your shop steward, and remember this is where only shop grievances are to be brought."

The Women's Union was represented by delegates at the Packing Trades Council and at the annual conventions on an equal footing with the men. The Women's Local had their own paid business agent, a clever German girl who learned in a few days to use a typewriter, though she had never practiced on one before, and found, as she said, "your spelling does jump and hit you straight in the eyes."

This agent was the go-between the women and the bosses. Any shop grievance was reported to her and then it was her business to confer with the employers, and thus prevent the petty, hysterical strikes of former days when the girls would protest against a grievance by stopping work without warning.

Soon after an experience that Hannah and I had at the Cattle Butchers' Union was quite as suggestive of the broadening influence of organization. A colored man was the officer who brought in for initiation the men of so many different nationalities that it took four interpreters to make clear the obligations of the organization. As we left the meeting, Hannah said: "Well, that's brotherhood of man all right, isn't it?" It was in such Union meetings that the Slavic immigrant for the first time had the experience of belonging freely to a self-governing organization, holding office and working on committees if they could understand English at all.

The real test of brotherhood came in the summer of 1904 when after weeks of conference between the Packers and the Union over the wage scale for both skilled and unskilled a strike was called, and twenty-two thousand workers came out. The struggle centered about the wages of the unskilled. The employers agreed not to touch the skilled workers, cattle, sheep, and hog butchers, but they were determined to reduce the unskilled back to the rate before the Union had raised them 2½ cents an hour. The skilled workers, feeling that this would disrupt the Union if the unskilled were discriminated against, determined to stand with them.

Michael Donnelly and his executive committee for weeks were conferring with the packers, but without avail. After much discussion within the locals a referendum vote was taken on whether to strike or not. The vote was to strike, and then began the first organized strike in the "yards." It came as a great surprise to employers and employees when the thousands of workers obeyed the order to leave work quietly and "everything in order," as if returning to their tasks the next day. "Do not stop until all your butchering is done," was the order, "then walk out." This was done so faithfully that the strike was on for several days before the community became conscious that twenty-two thousand people were on strike in the yards. After twelve days a settlement was made with the packers.

Mr. Donnelly did not approve of the method employed in taking the men back to work after the strike. He pleaded for a different method, but he was unable to gain his point, and what he feared happened. Some of the men who were officers of the Union were not taken back and very early in the day telegrams came from other places demanding that the strike continue on the ground of "discrimination and suspicion of trickiness." The demand was so persistent from certain quarters that he did what his own best judgment afterwards decided against. He issued the order for the strike to continue before consulting with the Packers. This action lost him and his Union the sympathy and backing of the strongest labor leaders in America; for they believed that Mr. Donnelly had made a very good agreement and had won a victory. The strike was on again and for over two months after this apparent victory for the Union, the neighborhood of the yards was the scene of an unusually orderly strike of twenty-two thousand people, equal to the population of many small cities. Thousands of cards were printed and distributed, large posters in different languages posted, pleading for law and order to prevail. The speeches even of the socialists were never inflammable. Indeed, most of the violence committed was done by certain newspapers. On one occasion a fight between two Polish brothers was turned into a serious disturbance because of the bad judgment or because of an ambition to make a record on the part of police officers who called out the whole force to quiet a group of Poles watching the fight. To be sure there were often physical arguments used. Such an argument one girl used with another who took her place in the packing house. When I protested against such methods by saying, "Why don't you try to persuade her to join your Union instead of slapping her?" the girl replied. "Yes, that's all right for you. You know how to talk, but when a girl takes my job, when I'm out to raise my wages, and then sasses me, I slap her; that's my way." But not always was this method used. Another Irish girl found a drunken Irishman on his way to the yards with an axe in his hands to do some damage, and persuaded him to give her the axe and go home to his wife..

This strike was called by those who had known previous ones in the yards "A pink tea strike," because as the police captains put it, "the girls and boys were kept so busy at the Settlement afternoons that they were not disturbing as they always had been in former strikes," and because, by the police sergeant's records there were less arrests during this July and August than in previous summers.

The Woman's Union had always met at the Settlement gymnasium because "there was no saloon there," for leaders of strikes generally agree that the saloon hall is the hot bed of trouble, and yet the Settlement Gymnasium was positively the only hall that was available for a Union meeting in the whole district that did not open into or was above a saloon.

If all the saloons in a strike zone could be closed as soon as trouble began, there would be less violence and a better and earlier understanding and if church and school halls were at the disposal of

labor unions it would raise the morale of the organizations. And if more of our American labor leaders would stand with their English Union brothers for temperance, it would help toward a saner Unionism.

The community's interest in the struggle for two and a half cents an hour is not easily understood by outsiders. Two and a half cents an hour meant a higher standard of living that the workers were unwilling to give up—we can't live "the decent American way" they said over and over. One wonders after hearing this so often if it is not this growing standard of living that the workers call "the decent American way," one of the strongest factors in the great unrest today, this, with the uncertainty of a steady job, and the demoralization of the casual or seasonal work.

The immigrant who is intelligent enough to send his children to the public school finds a constant tug upon his lean purse by demands that were not made upon his parents. The school nurse and the medical inspector report the children need glasses, that they may see clearly; their ears must be cared for that they may hear distinctly; the teeth must be cared for and the adenoids removed so that the children may be healthy and may keep up with their grades in school.

Rents advance, yet the parents with this growing standard of living are not willing to deprive their children of the privacy needed, and will not take in lodgers as some with lower standards do to help out the lack in income. The rent must be paid and food is high.

The children, therefore, must have less nourishing food. The employer and the economist tell us that wages cannot come up to the worker's standard, as long as the many wait for jobs at the doors of the industry. Industry is so specialized that perhaps a surplus of labor is a necessity to the business, but surely it should not be a menace to the higher standard of living of the working people.

After ten weeks of waiting and arguing, after priest and politician had failed to bring together the leading representatives of both sides in the struggle and the situation was getting tense and serious—for the Union had no funds to feed the strikers, and hunger makes men desperate—a woman physician filled with the spirit of the "called of the Lord" secured audience with the packer who agreed to see the men's representative. While the twenty-two thousand waited and talked of the decent American wage ideal, a cattle butcher who waited with me for the momentous word from these two representatives, said a significant thing that I shall never forget. "You know," he said, "I think the world has to learn that Michael Donnelly represents quite as important an interest as does the representative of the packers, Mr. J. Ogden Armour."

After hours of waiting the word at last reached the twenty-two thousand outside that the skilled workers could return to work with the wages unchanged but the unskilled workers must be reduced two and one-half cents. When a plea was made for some recognition of this long struggle for higher wages for the 60 per cent of the workers, the answer was, "As long as there are thousands waiting for a job every morning we cannot pay a higher rate of wages." Then the plea was

made for a more stable week's work in order that the casual work might be lessened, and it was urged that the industry might be so organized as to carry the needed surplus and make work steadier. Of course some recognition has to be made of the fact that this is in some sense a seasonal industry in that the supply of cattle, hogs and sheep is not a fixed or certain supply, but the packers promised to consider the proposition of steadying the work but would not consider the raising of wages. Michael Donnelly urged a labor commissioner such as the mine operators of Illinois had to deal with on matters brought up by the Union, which commissioner would make it possible to do away with shop stewards. One superintendent who had to deal with over 300 in a large packing plant, said he found the strike a rest cure from shop stewards.

The proposition to end the strike was brought at once before the members of the various Unions with the argument that the strike benefit fund was gone and that if the men did not go back to work they would not be cared for. This compelled an affirmative vote. But at one mass meeting of the unskilled I heard a Polish worker speak in four languages urging the men to hold out for the two and one-half cents for the same reasons that I had heard over and over. He spoke quietly and with ease, and was listened to with dignified attention. When he said, "You know that you can't give your children an American living; you can't send them to school and give them what they ought to have; you can't have a decent American home on fifteen and one-half cents an hour and only forty hours a week the year around." And the men who listened were ready to vote against returning to work until the officers of the Union explained the lack of funds. Then they agreed to give up, though most reluctantly, and some showed a lack of faith in those who had settled the strike.

It was Labor Day when these negotiations between packers and men were in progress. There was no procession and no picnic, but an ominous stillness lay back of the yards. Inside the one square mile of packing houses and stock yards, the imported workers, Negroes from the far south and immigrants from the east, were having a holiday, playing games and trying to feel at home in their temporary abiding place.

I walked through the yards hoping to find some one who would help to bring about some kind of a satisfactory solution of the tense situation. At one of the vacant spaces between the buildings I found two groups of Macedonians, having a holiday of a unique kind. One group were chanting their old country songs, while the other group were dancing the folk dance of their own Greek people to the music of a primitive goat skin pipe which their classic ancestors might have used. Near by and overseeing this Greek festival under the shadow of the slaughter house of one of the greatest of the packing houses was the padrone who brought from the seaport these newly landed immigrants. He was talkative and interesting. He said these men received in Macedonia twenty-five cents a day. While in the role of "the Commodity of Labor," going from one point to another whenever

there was a strike, they received \$2.50 a day with board and lodging. Knowing that the strike was about ended I asked: "What will you do with these men when this strike is over?" He answered laughingly, "We will go to the next place when we are needed."

I had never before seen what was called "Labor as a commodity" but here it was. In my ignorance I wondered what was the relation between this artificially supplied "commodity" and that so-called natural demand of thousands every morning at the time-keepers' offices. I put my question to the economist who walked with me but I received no satisfactory answer. Outside were the immigrants that were paying \$9.50 per month for the cottages they hoped to call their own. They were filling up every inch of space with lodgers and putting to work every pair of hands that were strong enough to be paid, and yet they were uncertain of a steady job themselves, and as unconscious of the reasons for their unrest as were the Macedonians of being an expensive commodity for the time being, or a pathetic spectacle or a baffling fact to the sympathetic onlookers.

The protest of the fifty thousand seemed futile for without an adequate strike benefit fund these workers were powerless to hold out. The power to wait is what the workers did not have. The strike ended. Most of the men and women, except the leaders, were taken back. Many never got back their old places, and many of those who did were dismissed after a time. Some went away to better places. Some took to a different kind of work, while a few were demoralized; in the struggle for industrial democracy the strike, like a war, carries a long train of evils. On the whole it was an education by chastening to both employers and employees, and some results were permanently good. Light was let in which opened the eyes of those who live far away before they had known the stock yards only as a marvel among industries, now the hands that prepared the meat had made themselves felt. When the roast of beef or sweetbreads became an uncertain quantity then the hands that prepared the meat for a world's market were recognized—perhaps with scorn or impatience—but recognized as a human reality with power, and a new point of view was reached by a great public, the same public that had a chill of horror over sanitation a few years after, but forgot the worker in their fear that cleanliness would not save their stomachs.

But this year of 1904, the human product of the packing industry had been considered something more than a brutal force for turning out meat food, more than an integral part of the great machinery. From this date changes began in the plants for the bettering of sanitary conditions. Where Maggie worked is now a concrete building covered within by white tiles, a dust-proof building. The awakening after the Iroquois Theatre tragedy demanded fire escapes. The Child Labor Law was generally obeyed to such an extent that children under sixteen are rarely to be found in the large packing houses. The State law, limiting women's work to ten hours is obeyed.

A new social consciousness has awakened, and has expressed itself in many ways. Welfare nurses are employed, sick benefit, insurance schemes, and in some plants lunch and improved locker rooms, shower

baths and other conveniences have been established since 1904. Before the war, smoke from the chimneys was consumed and streets in the yards have been paved and the best of modern structures replace old buildings that have been destroyed by fire. One firm has a minimum weekly wage and not less than forty hours work per week, one result of the strike.

At present the packers have offered the most advanced methods of industrial relationship that they have ever tried. This is the employees representative plan that has an assembly composed of representatives elected by secret ballot in each shop. In some plants the power of veto is left to the higher officials, while in a few there is no veto after a two-thirds vote decides the issue before the assembly. If the assembly decides on arbitration or a fight it is the last word. From the point of view of the packers this is democracy in industry, to the community it is only an experiment, while the average worker looks upon it as a method to down the Unions, though some men elected are Union men. It is at least the most constructive policy ever offered by the employers to their employees, and is well worth trying out. It may fail as such schemes have in many places, but it will be an educational experiment to both workers and officials.

The sanitary conditions and the humane slaughtering are perhaps as good if not better than that of any industry of its kind in the world; but the cause of industrial democracy is weaker than it was in 1900 and the problem of casual labor and its effect upon the family and community is still a social question that will be answered perhaps some day by the industry itself carrying the burden of that surplus of labor which is called a necessity of the business but demoralizing to the health and morals of the people. One wonders whether the unskilled workers, forgotten in this country by the skilled Unions who are strongly organized on an aristocratic basis; and helpless before the powerful employers, and so often unable to organize—one wonders whether they will not have to be protected by a general State minimum wage, an out-of-work insurance, and by municipal housing as well as public clinics for their children. Shall the police power of the State be evoked to insure a strong and intelligent citizenship which is of course the business of a democracy to produce; for after all is it not the human output that must be the important interest of the public who want to preserve this Democracy that is not yet established.

ILLINOIS WOMEN OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD.

(By Arthur Charles Cole.)

The American west has traditionally been pictured in the figure of the sturdy pioneer whose trusty rifle warned off the hostile redskin, whose powerful axe challenged the wilderness and fashioned his rude cabin, and whose hoe and plow broke the soil for the rudimentary agriculture that meant life to the first generation of frontiersmen. It remains to be shown that the conquest of the western wilds was conditioned upon the domestic partnership in which the pioneer woman played no minor role. The heroine of the frontier was not merely as some one has said, that "gaunt and sad-faced woman sitting on the front seat of the wagon, following her lord where he might lead, her face hidden in the same ragged sunbonnet which had crossed the Appalachians." Hers was more than the role of house-wife of—feeding a lord and master and his progeny and administering to their physical comforts. She kept house, to be sure; she did the quilting, the washing, the preserving of beef and pork; she made the candles and the family clothes. But the frontier woman had other occupations, the nature and significance of which have found little understanding in later generations.

The "women folks" of the frontier "could allus find something to du" around the barns and sheds, and, more, in the fields themselves.¹ The realm of woman's work did not end at the threshold of her lord's domain. She was his partner and together they labored toward the goal of success. She must share his burdens but she did so as his equal. It was not, then, commands to an inferior that secured her co-operation; it was a tribute to a sex equality which had its place in that pure democratic atmosphere of the frontier.

The very hardships of the frontier tore down old customs and established new values. But, just as the frontier was a moving and changing force, so conditions altered themselves with the steady flow of the westward movement. The second generation was better able to respond to the appeals of eastern customs and traditions, even to transplant them to western soil. One very suggestive index of the passing of the frontier can be found in the new status of woman and their new reaction to life about them. The frontier departed before the forces that made for specialization and for a division of labor, and woman's sphere was redefined by the same forces.

As the frontier lingeringly bade its adieu, leisure moments came to the wives and mothers of the west; and, simultaneously, a blind groping for pursuits to take the place of frontier occupations. The result was a larger part by women in organizations for social and

¹ See Tillson, Christiana Holmes, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*.

educational purposes. They became active along religious lines; they formed sewing societies, reading circles, women's clubs; they came, particularly in Indiana, to take a leading part in library associations. The women began also to bear the burden of the responsibility of the work of organizing the anti-slavery crusade; the men were often quite "content with the humbler task of co-operation by supplying the sinews of war." The west still showed less consciousness than the east "of any conflict between the peculiar duties of men and those of women in their relations to common objects."²

In the late forties the frontier passed slowly from the prairies of Illinois to the trans-Mississippi west. Simultaneously the pioneer woman began to disappear. Her successor not only had less taste for heavy physical tasks but even aspired to the eastern role of "lady." This required domestic service from servants engaged to take the place of the mistress. The resident population furnished few young women who failed to share the western spirit of optimism and opportunity to the extent of accepting the lot of an inferior group. Attention was drawn therefore to the surplus female population of the eastern cities; by co-operation with the Women's Protective Immigration Societies of New York and Philadelphia, the women of the prairie towns of Illinois were supplied with a quota of domestic helpers who relieved still further the labor pressure upon the western wife and mother.³

This relief left opportunity for other types of feminine enterprise. The sewing society, with all its ramifications, was the obvious stop-gap; but it alone did not suffice. At times of stress it enlarged its scope still farther, as when the women of Chicago were aroused by bleeding Kansas to organize a "Kansas Women's Aid and Liberty Association," with active auxiliaries in the towns and villages of northern Illinois. Even the less courageous sewing societies took a part in the work for the relief of the distressed sisters in Kansas.⁴

A new crusading spirit drew the women into the ranks of the temperance movement. In 1850 "Ladies Temperance Unions" or societies appeared in the chief cities and towns to aid in the organized attack upon liquor. County organizations followed and in 1856 a call was sent out by women of Chicago and vicinity for a state convention to organize a Woman's State Temperance Society. All of these organizations demanded literary activity from their members in the preparation of addresses; they also gave to the women of the state some of their first experience in speechmaking. In 1855 Mrs. Fonda, an agent of the New York Ladies' Temperance Society, made an extensive lecture tour through Illinois. One of her first addresses was in Springfield where she spoke before an audience of citizens and members of the legislature. She even penetrated into "darkest Egypt" where, according to one of its spokesmen, "the use of intoxicating drinks seems more natural than the use of water." At every point she was met with a cordial welcome, with good audiences, and with

² Macy, *The Anti-slavery Crusade*, 46. "There was complete equality between husband and wife because their aims were identical and each rendered the service most convenient and most needed. Women did what men could not do." *Ibid.*, 47.

³ See Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 15.

⁴ Chicago Weekly Democrat, June 21, 28, 1856.

generous collections.⁵ Many of her audiences were strongly impressed by their first experience in listening to the eloquence of a woman lecturer.

But there was emotion as well as intelligence in the women's part in the temperance movement. The time called for a St. George to slay the "Demon Rum" and the women entered the field. Enraged feminine victims of the liquor traffic enlisted under the banners of local prototypes of Carrie Nation and were led in destructive assaults against the offending grogeries; armed with hatchets, rolling pins, broomsticks, kitchen knives and fire shovels, they routed the enemy, leaving empty barrels and broken glasses and decanters to decorate the streets. One of the first of such raids occurred in Milford, Iroquois County in 1854; Lincoln had a similar party in 1855; in the following year twenty or thirty women of Farmington, "backed up and protected by a crowd of 300 men and boys," cleaned out every grog shop in the community and secured so much applause from the newspapers of the neighboring town of Canton that the temperance women of the community came to the rescue of the city's prohibitory ordinance by raiding the shop of an offender and resolved that as often as the practice was resumed in the community, they would rid themselves of its curse, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." Women in the town of Winnebago not only emptied the casks of a local liquor dealer but treated him to a ride out of town on a rail. (*Rock River Democrat*, August 31, 1858). All these served as precedents for later raids until it became a question as to whether city officers could wipe out the liquor traffic by law enforcement or whether it would be left to the women. As the *Aurora Beacon*, May 13, 1858, facetiously and ungrammatically put it: "We wait to see who to throw up our hat for—the Women, or the City Officers." Many of the local newspapers accorded these militant tactics a silent approval; the editor of the *Ottawa Free Trader*, however, called such measures "high-handed, lawless, and not to be approved" and the *Joliet Signal* held that the husbands of the women should be compelled to pay damages since "such outrages upon the property and rights of others are becoming too frequent."⁶ At one time it was rumored that one of the married women of Aurora had been arrested at the suit of a local whiskey seller, although no raiding party had been staged, with the result that the women held an indignation meeting and adopted a set of stirring resolutions.⁷

These aggressive movements of the women doubtless attracted more attention than their active efforts in the regularly organized temperance movement. In the main they worked quietly and in good temper,—“in a spirit of kindness,” read a flattering account in the *Rockford Register*, December 25, 1858. “We believe,” wrote the editor, that “the movement which the ladies have initiated for the attempted suppression of the liquor traffic, to be justifiable, and a legitimate sphere for her labors for the suppression of a vice in which

⁵ Mrs. Fonda at the close of her tour congratulated herself on the “very large still and respectful audiences” and the “generous contributions” made by them. See her letter of April 28, 1855 to the *Cairo City Times*, in the issue of May 2, 1855.

⁶ *Ottawa Free Trader*, April 10, 1854; *Joliet Signal*, June 8, 1858.

⁷ *Rockford Register*, March 13, 1858.

she is so largely the sufferer." Temperance reform was materially furthered by the women who confined their activities to writing and delivering addresses and sending them to the newspapers for publication.⁸

In time signs began to appear that woman would demand admission into the professional field. Pioneer women editors, preachers, and physicians in the east began to attract considerable attention. Mrs. Jane Swisshelm's venture as editor of the *Pittsburg Visitor* received wide notice; her views on the rights of women were extensively clipped and her editorial efforts together with those of Mrs. Anne E. McDowell in her Philadelphia *Women's Advocate* were variously applauded and condemned by the editorial fraternity of Illinois. In March, 1855, the *Belleville Advocate* announced that it expected shortly "to have the pleasure of introducing to the notice of our readers another new paper, published nearer home, and edited by a lady friend of ours. We masculines had better look to our time-honored 'Rights.' When women invade the sanctum and mount the tripod, it is time that a voice were raised in remonstrance; else, we may find like Othello, when too late to apply a remedy, that our 'occupation's gone.'"⁹

For the time few complained against the traditional monopoly of the male sex in professional occupations. Marriage or hopes of marriage held the interest of most women, for as yet the male demand for domesticity was insatiable in a section where woman was in a marked minority. The first women in Illinois to demonstrate publicly their ability to compete with men in the professions were emissaries carrying the gospel of "woman's rights" from the east. Such in a sense was the case even with Mary A. Livermore, who for a time concealed her activities behind the name of her husband, an eastern Universalist minister who located first at Quincy and then in Chicago. Mrs. Livermore was a frequent contributor to denominational papers and was probably the "real editor" of *The New Covenant*, the Universalist organ at Chicago which carried her husband's name on the editorial page. In this way she laid the foundations for her later role of leadership in the woman's movement.

The early women preachers naturally aroused considerable excitement. In 1853 the Reverend R. F. Ellis, Baptist minister at Alton, rejoiced that he was at length able to scotch the rumor that Miss Antoinette L. Brown had been ordained as Baptist pastor of South Butler, Wayne County, New York; he felt relieved that her denominational connection was with another sect, the Congregationalist; but regretted that the act of ordination had taken place in a Baptist house of worship. He could only hope that the Baptist had repented of having allowed the use of their building for this purpose, "so repugnant to Baptist usages."¹⁰ Within four years his Baptist flock experienced almost directly the invasion of a woman preacher. About 1857 a Mrs. Hubbard came to Madison County and requested the privilege of speaking in the old Mount Olive meeting house outside Alton; a storm of protest arose from the male members of the Baptist

⁸ See *Rockford Register*, December 25, 1858; *Aurora Beacon*, February 4, 1858.

⁹ *Belleville Advocate*, March 14, 1855; cf. *Illinois State Journal*, July 23, 1850.

¹⁰ *Alton Courier*, October 13, 1853.

congregation but when the objections were broken down a crowded house greeted the innovator. Henceforth she was received with a hearty welcome in all her appearances before that congregation.¹¹ Another early itinerant woman preacher of the late fifties was Mrs. Lily Henry, who later made her home at Bunker Hill, Illinois. The precedent established in the cases of Mrs. Hubbard and Mrs. Henry seems to have cleared the atmosphere of much of the opposition to women preachers, so that those who followed in their foot-steps encountered fewer obstacles.

The women teachers of early Illinois were largely eastern emigrants. In the period after 1847 the Illinois Education Society and the National Educational Society, through its agent, ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, co-operated to transfer systematically to the West classes of young women as missionaries in the cause of education. Illinois received a large share of these importations which were enthusiastically welcomed. Western advocates of education only complained that they were not brought on fast enough to make up for constant desertions. The demand for wives was often greater than for teachers, so that two-thirds of them abandoned the professional field and settled down to domestic life before a period of five years had elapsed. "Instead of teaching other folks children," remarked a contemporary, "they soon find employment in teaching their own."¹² Meantime provision was made for training a local supply of teachers at the new State Normal School and young women began to be attracted to this opportunity to secure economic independence. Thus constantly did the professional horizon for the female sex widen; by 1859 there graduated from Sloan's Central Commercial College of Chicago "the first class of ladies who have received a thorough commercial education in the West, if not in the United States."¹³

By this time the much talked of woman's rights movement had borne down upon Illinois from the East. There was a good deal of confusion as to just what this movement covered. Liberal-minded editors, like John Wentworth of the *Chicago Democrat*, admitted that the laws were "oppressive toward women in many respects." "Let woman plead earnestly, boldly," he urged, "with brothers, sons, and husbands, * * * for justice and her rights, and she uses a power that will prove effective. But," he warned, "let her not aspire to become equal with man."¹⁴ William H. Sterrett was known as a strong woman's rights advocate in the general assembly where he sponsored such legislation as giving the wife separate and independent fee in her own property. Other men who represented radical movements of the day found courage to present the new woman's propaganda before the public; the versatile H. Van Amringe of Chicago pleaded for woman's rights and listed the cause with land reform and abolition in his lecture repertoire.

¹¹ Stahl, "Early women preachers in Illinois," in *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, IX, 484-485.

¹² *Illinois State Journal*, November 28, December 1, 1848; *Illinois State Register*, December 2, 1851, August 4, 1853.

¹³ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, May 19, 1858.

¹⁴ *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, September 17, 1853.

Neither such advocates nor the women champions who entered the lists advocated the widening of the suffrage franchise or the eligibility of women to office-holding. Admitting a distinct sphere for womankind, the woman's rights forces insisted upon the injustice of contemporary legal discriminations as to property-holding, and in addition claimed those rights, the denial of which would defraud woman's very nature. Confined to the narrow training of the contemporary female seminary or college, shut out of the high schools and colleges, many women labored to secure for their sex equality in education. "Let women be educated," urged one champion. "'Tis her right; not the fashionable education of the boarding school, an education too often of the head at the expense of the heart. There are five kinds of education which every woman has a right to: intellectual, moral, social, physical, and industrial."¹⁵

Soon women propagandists were busy on the platform, though at first limiting themselves to discourses to members of their sex on anatomy and physiology. In 1852 Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones made an eminently successful lecture tour through the state, followed, in the spring of the following year, by Mrs. Ann S. Bane. At the same time Miss Olive Starr Wait, niece of William S. Wait, the Illinois reformer, actively entered the field. Mrs. Bane had added the topic woman's rights to the subject matter of her lectures, while Miss Wait came to give her entire attention to that subject. For several years Miss Wait addressed large audiences made up of members of both sexes in all the important towns of southwestern Illinois, in the region about her native Madison county. She was a woman of unusual charm. "Her character, life and attainments stamp her as an ornament to her country, to her sex, to her race," declared the *Belleville Advocate*, after she had delivered a series of three lectures before an audience which unanimously requested her to prolong her stay and her work of education. Men and women applauded her efforts and advocated letting her give "the full length of the reins to her abilities under the guide of her angelic benevolence."¹⁶ In 1855 her lecture tour included the state capital. Miss Wait had a happy faculty of presenting her subject in a manner that offended few and attracted many. "For chaste elocution, happy illustration, beauty of diction and depth of pathos, these lectures have been but seldom equaled," wrote a discriminating patron.¹⁷ At the end of 1853 Lucy Stone visited Chicago and then started on a tour of the State on a feminist mission. Her womanly earnestness combined with a manly energy could not but command respect. "How differently appeared the cause of woman's rights as set forth by Miss Stone," commented a critic instinctively inclined to sympathize with the movement.¹⁸ Another active propagandist of the same period was Mrs. Frances D. Gage of St. Louis

¹⁵ *Alton Courier*, January 27, 1854.

¹⁶ *Belleville Advocate*, April 27, 1853. An occasional critic cited the Bible position of woman: "Man was first formed, and placed at the head of all the works of the six days, and afterwards Woman was taken from his side."

¹⁷ N. M. McCurdy to Joseph Gillespie December 15, 1855, Gillespie manuscripts, Chicago Historical Society. Miss Wait later became the wife of the Honorable Jehu Baker.

¹⁸ *Free West*, January 5, 1854.

who lectured extensively in the central portion of the State.¹⁹ In 1858 Horace Mann, the Massachusetts educator, visited the State and delivered a lecture at Ottawa on the subject of "Woman."

A good deal of discussion was aroused by these stimuli. The removal of legal restrictions on women found an increasing number of supporters even in the legislative halls at Springfield. A letter even went the rounds of the newspapers purporting to have been written by Stephen A. Douglas to Lucy Stone, giving an endorsement of her cause; it proved, however, to be a hoax which Miss Stone indignantly repudiated: "It is not to such men that the Woman's Rights cause appeals for help."²⁰ Men were found, like the editor of the *Aurora Beacon*, who openly professed no objection to the extension of the right of suffrage to women. "It will not make them less lovely nor injure their dispositions. Their sense of right and justice is as clear, if not clearer, than ours; and their innate humanity, in which they greatly exceed us, will prove no invaluable aid in many cases where those great principles are involved. If they wish to vote, why should they not?"²¹

Not all the devotees were able to appreciate the full scope of the woman question in its legal, political, and philosophical implications. Sex emancipation for many women came to mean the elimination of the inequality that grew out of the traditions of a garb which by ancient custom make "our women feeble when they might be strong," "stooping when they might be straight," and "helpless when they might be efficient." Feminine dress would not permit the vigorous physical exercise which develops superior intellects and man, thus deprived of the society of women in many of his avocations and diversions, regarded her as his inferior. This was the argument of the dress reformers, whose adherents demonstrated their seriousness in 1851 and again in 1858, when wearers of the bloomer costume, designed by Mrs. Bloomer of New York, made their appearance on the streets of various Illinois cities. In June, 1851, a correspondent signing herself as "Elizabeth" appealed to the *Illinois State Register*²² to come out in favor of short skirts; women, she said, decline longer to be "street-sweepers"—they wished to drop the long dangling mops that constituted the female dress; they wanted freedom of limbs and the opportunity of making the best of such charms as a pretty foot and ankle. The editor indulged in facetious equivocation but already by that time several young ladies had taken matters in hand in Bloomington by appearing in the new bloomer costume and had secured the endorsement of the local editor. "They attracted the universal attention and admiration of all who saw them. We trust now that the ice is broken, the dress will be adopted by all," concluded the note on this new development in the *Bloomington Bulletin*.²³ Several promi-

¹⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, January 14, 1854; *Alton Daily Courier*, January 16, 1854; *Alton Weekly Courier*, October 5, 1854.

²⁰ *Rockford Register*, September 24, November 5, 1858.

²¹ *Aurora Beacon*, March 14, 1857. There was a tendency for the Republicans to show greater favor to the woman's movement than the Democrats, so that some of the latter complained of mixing up sex emancipation with negro emancipation. See *Belle-ville Advocate*, August 17, 1853; *Joliet Signal*, June 17, 1856.

²² *Illinois State Register*, June 26, 1851.

²³ *Bloomington Bulletin*, in *ibid.*

nent women of Joliet promptly adopted the costume and heroically adhered to it for street dress. The editor of the *Signal* noted a number whose garb "did not extend below their 'courtesy benders.' Well, whose business is it?" he asked. The editor of the *Aurora Beacon* applauded when certain young matrons made their appearance, "decked out in short dresses and pants, to the great discomfiture of fastidious husbands and a certain class of maidens, and to the unrestrained delight of young men and boys. So far as our notions of this reform are concerned, we are free to say that with some slight improvements in the style adopted by the ladies referred to, we are decidedly in for it. The dresses were too long, the trousers should have been gathered and tied just above the ankles, and the head gear should consist of a hat or turban, *a la Turk*. . . . Go on, ladies, as you have begun. The enemies of this desirable reform may for a time turn up their noses at you, but rest assured that the more reasonable portion of the community are with you."²⁴ When the New Harmony plank road opening was celebrated by a dance at New Harmony in November, 1851, the bloomer costume was worn by "many fair dancers."²⁵ Bloomer parties were held to keep up the courage of the innovators who braved the gaze of the curious and the sharp tongues of the town gossips. Many women, safe from the public eye, enjoyed the comfort and convenience which the new dress afforded for the performance of housework. The revival of 1857-8 was quite extensive. The dress reform forces organized themselves carefully in several communities. In Aurora the friends of dress reform of both sexes adopted a strong indictment of the prevailing style of dress, endorsed the "reform dress," and resolved "that we will, by precept and example, by word and deed, to the best of our ability, encourage a change in woman's apparel, that shall be in keeping with physiological laws: allow free motion to every part of the body, protect and cover, in a proper manner, the wearer and materially aid her in attaining that position side by side with man, neither above him nor beneath him, but his co-worker in life and its duties, equally capable of enjoying its pleasures, for which nature designed her, and give a more correct idea of the natural proportions of the human form."²⁶ A committee of two men and three women was then appointed to frame a constitution for the new "Dress Reform Association." Soon, however, the number of practicing converts declined and the untterrified became less zealous over their public appearances; the traditions of centuries triumphed over the would-be reformers. Other less dramatic features of the woman's movement absorbed the interest of those who were captivated by a *bona fide* feminist philosophy.

The Illinois woman's movement of the fifties—feeble and groping in all its efforts—was the infancy of the powerful force that emerged triumphant in the twentieth century. The Civil War made new demands and presented new opportunities to womankind. The scope of every activity was enlarged and intensified. Women found a broader field of service outside of as well as within the home. Their visions

²⁴ *Aurora Beacon*, June 26, 1851.

²⁵ *Graysville Advertiser*, in *Illinois State Register*, November 27, 1851.

²⁶ *Aurora Beacon*, April 8, 1858.

were enlarged as they listened to or participated in appeals for the negro freedman and his rights; they perceived the logic of the demand that members of their sex be accorded the same political privileges to which the former victims of chattel slavery were admitted. The woman's movement became articulate and redefined itself in terms broader than those of the previous decade. In the middle period of Illinois history, therefore, the woman's movement was important mainly because it was a beginning and because this beginning was one of a number of pieces of testimony to the fact that the frontier was about to pass from the Illinois prairies.

SIDE LIGHTS ON ILLINOIS SUFFRAGE HISTORY.

(By Grace Wilbur Trout.)

When we look back to the early fifties of the last century and contemplate the beginning of equal suffrage work in Illinois, we realize the marvelous change in public sentiment that has taken place since that time. A married woman in those days had no jurisdiction over her own children, she could not lay claim to her own wardrobe—about all that she could call her own in those days was her soul, and some man usually had a claim on that, although it had been solemnly declared during a previous century by a learned council of men that women really did possess souls.

The first local suffrage club in Illinois was organized over a half century ago in Earlville in the early sixties, and a few years later the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was founded in Chicago (in 1869). It was founded the same year that the National American Woman Suffrage Association was organized, and with which it has always been affiliated.

The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was organized by men as well as women. One of the early founders of the Association was Judge Charles B. Waite, who was appointed Associate Justice of Utah Territory by Abraham Lincoln. His wife, Mrs. Catherine Van Valkenberg Waite, was also one of that first group that started the state suffrage movement in Illinois, and associated with them were a number of other eminent men and women. The work during those early years was slow, educational work, the Association patiently and persistently plodding forward toward its ultimate goal—full political freedom for the women of Illinois.

My first active participation in suffrage work was as President of the Chicago Political Equality League, to which office I was elected in May, 1910.

The first active work undertaken under my administration as League President was to secure permission to have a Suffrage Float in the Sane Fourth Parade to be held in Chicago. There was some hesitation on the part of the men's committee having this in charge as to whether an innovation of this kind would be proper. Finally, however, permission was granted, with the understanding that we were to pay the committee \$250.00 for the construction of the float. We had no funds in the treasury for this purpose so money had to be raised mostly by soliciting contributions from our friends and neighbors in Oak Park. It was difficult also to secure young ladies whose mothers would permit them to ride on a Suffrage Float. All obstacles were finally overcome and the Suffrage Float received more cheering in the procession than any other feature of the parade, with

the single exception of the G. A. R. Veterans, with whom it shared equal honors. The Suffrage Float aroused interest in suffrage among people who had never before considered the question seriously.

While planning for the Suffrage Float, preparations were also being made for the first organized Suffrage Automobile Tour ever undertaken in Illinois. As League President I was asked by the State Board of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, to take charge of this experimental tour, which required about six weeks of preparatory work to insure its success.

I visited the newspaper offices and was fortunate in securing the co-operation of the press. The tour started on Monday, July 11th, and the Sunday edition of the *Chicago Tribune* the day before contained a full colored page of the women in the autos, and nearly a half page more of reading material about the tour. The *Tribune* sent two reporters along on the trip, who rode with us in our auto, one to report for the daily paper and one to report for the Sunday edition. Other Chicago newspapers, the *Examiner*, *Record-Herald*, *Post*, and *Journal*, sent reporters by railroad and trolley, who joined us at our various stopping places.

Through the kindness of one of our Oak Park neighbors, Mr. Charles W. Stiger, the Winton Motor Company donated the use of one of their finest seven passenger autos to carry us as far as Woodstock, furnishing also an expert chauffeur. There we were met by an equally fine Stoddard Dayton car which carried us to Naperville, where Mr. Stiger's own car was waiting to take us back to Chicago. At the meetings during this week's tour, contributions were taken and enough money was raised to pay all expenses of the trip and a balance of over \$100.00 was turned into the state treasury.

We spoke usually from the automobile, driving up into some square or stopping on a prominent street corner which had previously been advertised in the local papers and arranged for by the local committees in the various towns visited. It had been difficult, however, in many towns to secure women who were willing to serve on these local committees, the excuse usually given was that the people in their respective towns were not interested and did not care to hear about suffrage.

I selected as speakers for the tour, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who spoke on suffrage from the legal standpoint; Miss S. Grace Nicholes, a prominent settlement worker, who spoke from the laboring woman's standpoint, and Ella S. Stewart, State President, who treated the subject from an international aspect. I made the opening address at each meeting covering the subject in a general way, and introduced the speakers. I, in turn, was presented to the various crowds by some prominent local woman or man, and on several occasions by the mayor of the town.

The towns visited were: Evanston, Highland Park, Lake Forest, Waukegan, Grays Lake, McHenry, Woodstock, Marengo, Belvidere, Sycamore, DeKalb, Geneva, Elgin, Aurora, Naperville and Wheaton. In every one of these towns the local newspapers gave front page stories about the Suffrage Automobile Tour, which helped greatly in

arousing interest. The following comments of the *Chicago Tribune* show the success of the trip: "Suffragists' tour ends in triumph . . . With mud-bespattered 'Votes for Women' still flying, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, leader of the Suffrage automobile crusade, and her party of orators, returned late yesterday afternoon. . . . Men and women cheered the suffragists all the way in from their last stop at Wheaton to the Fine Arts Building headquarters." The success of this tour encouraged the Illinois Suffrage Association to go on with this new phase of suffrage work, and similar tours were conducted in other parts of the State.

The Chicago Political Equality League had been organized by the Chicago Woman's Club in 1894, and in May, 1910, had only 143 members. We realized that for sixteen years' work this was too slow a growth in membership to bring speedy success to the suffrage movement. As a consequence in the summer of 1910 a strenuous campaign for new members was instituted, and in the League Year Book published in the fall, we had added 245 new names, nearly trebling our membership.

The League had previously held its meetings in the rooms of the Chicago Woman's Club, but in 1911 it had grown to such proportions that more spacious quarters were needed, and the Music Hall of the Fine Arts Building was secured as a meeting place. On account of the League's increased activities it was voted at the annual meeting on May 6, 1911, to organize the Legislative, Propaganda, and Study Sections for the purpose of carrying on different phases of the work, and it was decided also to hold meetings four times a month instead of once as heretofore.

My term of office as League President expired in May, 1912, and through the splendid co-operation of the League members we had succeeded in raising our membership to over 1,000 members.

On October 2, 1912, at the State Convention held at Galesburg, Illinois, I was elected State President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. In addition to my League Work I had been serving as a member of the State Board of this Association since October, 1910. Thus having had several years of strenuous experience in suffrage work I desired above all things to retire to private life, and in spite of the urging of many suffragists, would not have accepted the state presidency had it not been for the arguments advanced by one of my sons. This son had been out in California during the 1911 suffrage campaign when the California women won their liberty. He had seen every vicious interest lined up against the women and had become convinced of the righteousness of the cause. He said to me: "Mother, you ought to be willing to do this work—to make any sacrifice if necessary. This is not a work simply for women, but for humanity," and he added, "you can do a work that no one else can do." He had that blind faith that sons always have in their mothers—and I listened to his advice.

This son, who had just reached his majority, had met with a severe accident some years before, from which we thought he had

completely recovered, but just three weeks after my election an unexpected summons came to him and he passed on into that far country where the principles of equality and justice are forever established. So our work sometimes comes toward us out of the sunshine of life, sometimes it comes toward us out of life's shadows, and all that we do is not only for those who are here, and those who are coming after us, but is in memory of those who have gone on before.

Immediately after my election to the presidency we realized the necessity of strengthening the organization work, for in spite of all the previous organization work, there were many Senatorial districts in which there was no suffrage organization of any kind, and as the time was short, competent women were immediately appointed in such districts to see that their respective legislators were properly interviewed, and to be ready to have letters and telegrams sent to Springfield when called for.

All of this work was difficult to accomplish without funds. Our Board found the Association about \$100.00 in debt, and immediate solicitation of the friends of suffrage was begun for the purpose of raising funds. After legislative work began however, this work was of paramount importance and I had to call often upon Mr. Trout for funds with which to finance the Springfield campaign.

During the previous session of the Springfield Legislature (in 1911) I had accompanied Mrs. McCulloch, who had been in charge there of the suffrage legislative work for over twenty years. At that time I was indignant at the way the suffrage committee was treated. Some men who had always believed in suffrage, were exceedingly kind, but no one regarded the matter as a serious legislative question which had the slightest possibility of becoming a law. Mr. Homer Tice had charge of the suffrage bill in 1911 in the House, and he said that in consequence he became so unpopular that every other bill he introduced in the Legislature during that session, was also killed. It certainly required moral courage for an Illinois Legislator to be an active suffragist at that time.

Having had this experience, as soon as I was elected to the presidency of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association I sent for Mrs. Elizabeth K. Booth of Glencoe, the newly elected Legislative Chairman, and we agreed upon a legislative policy. This included a campaign without special trains, special hearings, or spectacular activities of any kind at Springfield, as too much publicity during a legislative year is liable to arouse also the activity of every opponent. It was decided to initiate a quiet, educational campaign, and not to attack or criticize those opposed to suffrage, because the only possible way to succeed and secure sufficient votes to pass the measure was to convert some of these so-called "opponents" into friends. We agreed also that a card index, giving information about every member of the Legislature, should be compiled. This plan of procedure was submitted to the State Board at its regular meeting on November 8, 1912, and the plan of campaign as outlined was approved and adopted by the Board. The following women served on the State Board at this time:

OFFICERS:

President.....	Grace Wilbur Trout
First Vice-President.....	Miss Jane Addams
Second Vice-President.....	Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen
Recording Secretary.....	Miss Virginia Brooks
Corresponding Secretary.....	Mrs. Bertram W. Sippy
Treasurer.....	Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson
Auditor.....	Mrs. J. W. McGraw

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS:

Organization.....	Mrs. Mary R. Plummer
Press.....	Miss Margaret Dobyne
Literature.....	Dr. Anna E. Blount
Publicity.....	Mrs. George S. Welles
Legislative.....	Mrs. Sherman M. Booth
Church.....	Mrs. H. M. Brown
Lecture.....	Miss S. Grace Nicholes
Industrial.....	Miss Mary McDowell
Woman's Journal.....	Mrs. Lillian N. Brown

DIRECTORS:

Officers, Heads of Departments

Mrs. Elvira Downey	Mrs. Charles A. Webster
Mrs. Ella S. Stewart	

On December 19th a suffrage mass meeting was held in Orchestra Hall in honor of the Board of Managers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association which at that time was holding a board meeting in Chicago. The mass meeting was given especially in honor of Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, who had both been elected to the National Board at the National Convention held in November. Miss Addams and Mrs. Bowen were also respectively First and Second Vice-Presidents of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. As State President I presided over this meeting, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and other members of the National Board addressed the audience.

As soon as the legislature convened in January, 1913, an immediate struggle developed over the speakership in the House. There was a long and bitter deadlock before William McKinley, a young Democrat from Chicago, was finally elected Speaker. Then another struggle ensued over who should represent Illinois in the United States Senate. During these weeks of turmoil little could be accomplished in the way of securing votes for the suffrage bill.

Before the legislature had convened the Progressive Party had made plans to introduce as a party measure a carefully drafted woman's suffrage bill. Hearing about this Mrs. Booth and I at once consulted with the Progressive leaders and suggested that it would be far better to let the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association introduce

this measure than to have it presented by any political party. The Progressives realized the force of this suggestion and finally very kindly agreed to let the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association take their carefully drafted bill and have it introduced as an absolutely non-partisan measure.

In the meantime, on February 10th, Mrs. Booth as Legislative Chairman, was sent to Springfield to study the plans and learn to recognize and call by name each member of the legislature. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch—who had declined to serve as Legislative Chairman this year on account of family duties—volunteered on this occasion to accompany Mrs. Booth to Springfield. As this was Mrs. Booth's first trip no action had as yet been taken to introduce the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill which had been drafted by the Progressives and which we were to introduce. Mrs. McCulloch, however, took with her a suffrage bill which she had drafted and which she insisted upon having introduced without one word being changed, which was done. It contained however, in its second section, no blanket clause, but specifically named the officers for whom women should be allowed to vote, instead of being worded like the Progressive draft which said: "Women shall be allowed to vote at such elections for *all officers* and upon *all questions and propositions* submitted to a vote of the electors, except where the Constitution provides as a qualification that the elector shall be a male citizen of the United States." Mrs. Booth being inexperienced in legislative work, and as Mrs. McCulloch was a lawyer, she believed this bill to be regular in form and to cover the subject fully. When Mrs. Booth returned and reported what had been done we were all very much distressed that the plan agreed upon with the Progressives had not been carried out and their bill introduced. In the interests of harmony, and out of deference to Mrs. McCulloch's long years of service as Legislative Chairman, and we not being so well versed in constitutional law then as some of us became later, the matter was allowed to stand.

We having failed to introduce the form of bill agreed upon with the Progressives, they proceeded to introduce their bill in both the House and Senate. This complicated matters and made confusion, but finally the Progressives in order to help the suffrage cause, very graciously withdrew their bill. Medill McCormick, one of the leading Progressives in the legislature, helped greatly in straightening out this tangle. He was our faithful ally and rendered invaluable service during the entire session. Other Progressives in the House who also rendered important service were: John M. Curran and Emil N. Zolla, both of Chicago, J. H. Jayne of Monmouth, Charles H. Carmon of Forrest and Fayette S. Munro of Highland Park:

While the State Legislative work was being taken care of at Springfield we did every thing possible to cooperate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its national work. On March 3rd, the day preceding President Wilson's first inauguration at Washington, suffragists of the various states were called to come to the National Capital and take part in a suffrage parade. I was very proud to conduct 83 Illinois women to Washington. We left Chicago

by special train on March 1, 1913, and were extended every courtesy by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. An elaborate banquet was served on the train including fresh strawberries, and every other delicacy, at only \$1.00 a plate, and special maids were provided to wait upon the suffragists.

This Washington parade and the brutal treatment accorded the women along the line of march aroused the indignation of the whole nation and converted many men to the suffrage cause. It was openly asserted that if law-abiding women, who had been given an official permit to have the parade, could be so ill treated on the streets of the National Capital, it was time that the legal status of women was changed and women accorded the respect to which every loyal American citizen is entitled. The police claimed they could not control the jeering mob, who spat upon the women and roughly handled many of them, but the next day the Inauguration Parade down the same streets was a manifestation of perfect law and order and was in marked contrast to the disgraceful procedure of the day before. The Illinois women wore a uniform regalia of cap and baldric and were headed by a large band led by Mrs. George S. Welles as Drum Major. We had a woman outrider, a young Mrs. Stewart recently converted to the cause, who on a spirited horse helped keep back the mob from our group. I led carrying an American flag, and our Illinois banner too heavy for a woman, was carried by Mr. Royal N. Allen, an ardent suffragist and one of the railroad officials, who had our special suffrage train in charge. Our women had been drilled to march and keep time, and the discipline manifested seemed to affect the hoodlums and our women were treated with more respect than the majority of the marchers. In fact, the newspapers particularly commended the order and system manifested by the Illinois Division.

On March 10th I went to Springfield to consult with Governor Edward F. Dunne, and secure if possible, his support of the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill. He agreed to support this statutory suffrage bill if we would promise not to introduce a suffrage measure which provided for a constitutional amendment, as but one constitutional amendment (according to Illinois law) could be introduced during a legislative session, and this if introduced, would interfere with the Initiative and Referendum Constitutional Amendment upon which the administration was concentrating its efforts. We assured the Governor that we would not introduce a resolution for a constitutional suffrage amendment because we knew we had no chance to pass such a resolution and we also wished not to interfere with the administration's legislative plans. I remained in Springfield during the rest of the week to size up the legislative situation.

The next week I went again to Springfield to attend the meeting of the Senate Committee to which our suffrage bill had been referred. Senator W. Duff Piercy was chairman and had offered to arrange a suffrage hearing if we wished it. As we ascertained that a majority on this committee were friendly it seemed wiser not to arouse antagonism by having public discussion on the suffrage question at this time, so there was no hearing.

During the next two weeks I spent my time in visiting the districts having legislators not as yet converted to the suffrage cause. Mass meetings were held in some towns and arranged for in many others.

The first week of April the Mississippi Valley Conference of Suffragists was held at St. Louis and it seemed imperative for me to attend. This large gathering of suffragists would have been helpful to our legislative work in Springfield if a prominent Illinois suffragist in her speech at the conference, had not attacked the lawyers in the Illinois Legislature saying they were either crooks or failures in their profession or words to that effect. As there were many lawyers in both the House and Senate whose votes we had to secure in order to pass the suffrage measure, such attacks were most unfortunate and made the work exceedingly difficult.

Another shock was in store for us, for on April 2nd, at the request of this same suffragist, a resolution providing for a constitutional amendment was introduced. It had been thoroughly explained to her that this was against the wishes of the Governor and would be construed as a breach of faith on our part, especially as she had been identified for so many years with the suffrage legislative work. It was hard for the legislators and for the Governor to realize that any suffragist, not a member of the lobby, nor a member of the State Board, would proceed entirely on her own judgment. At our State Board meeting held on April 8th Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, our First Vice-President, introduced a resolution which was afterwards sent to this suffragist asking her, in the interests of the equal suffrage movement in Illinois, to have this resolution withdrawn. It was not withdrawn, however, but was afterwards killed in committee.

The work at Springfield became more and more difficult and at times it seemed hopeless. No politician believed that he had the slightest chance to pass the suffrage measure. On April 7th I began attending the sessions of the legislature regularly.

During all of our work at Springfield we had splendid cooperation from the press. Nearly every week end when we returned to Chicago I made it a point to see one or more managers of the newspapers and explain to them the difficulties we were encountering, and asked them to publish an editorial that would be helpful to the situation. By not appealing too often to any one newspaper helpful articles were kept coming along in some newspaper nearly every week. We had these various newspapers containing suffrage propaganda folded so that the editorial (blue pencil) came on the outside. They were then placed on each legislator's desk by a boy engaged for that purpose. These editorials were a surprise to the representatives of these various Chicago newspapers who were at Springfield, for it seemed best to make it appear that these editorials were spontaneous expressions of sentiment. I remember one of the legislators, unfriendly to suffrage, who had tried a little parliamentary trick which was indirectly referred to in an editorial, growling about those Chicago newspapers that attend to everybody's business but their own. He even complained to

the Springfield representative of the newspaper, who of course declared his innocence, because he knew nothing about it.

The Springfield papers also became exceedingly friendly and published suffrage articles and editorials when we asked for them.

Among the Chicago newspaper men whom I remember with special gratitude at this time were: Mr. Keely and Mr. Beck of the Tribune, Mr. Chamberlain of the Record Herald, Mr. Eastman and Mr. Finnegan of the Journal, Mr. Andrew Lawrence and Mr. Victor Polacheck of the Examiner, Mr. Curley of the American, Mr. Shafer and Mr. Mason of the Post and Mr. Frank Armstrong of the Daily News.

We were deeply indebted at this time for the help given us by Mr. Andrew J. Redmond, a Chicago lawyer and Grand Commander of the Knights Templar. I remember one instance in particular when much pressure was being brought to bear on Governor Dunne to prejudice him against the suffrage bill—I wished Mr. Redmond, who was a personal friend of the Governor, to go down to Springfield and help counteract this harmful influence. Mr. Redmond was a next door neighbor of ours in Oak Park, and he had an important law suit on that week; and in talking the matter over with Mr. Trout we both decided it would be imposing upon the kindness of a friend to ask him to leave his business and go at that time. Mrs. Redmond, however, called me up by phone to ask how things were going. She and her husband were both deeply interested in having us win the fight. I told her the facts but told her I was not going to ask Mr. Redmond, much as we needed him, to go down the coming week on account of his business. When Mr. Trout took me to the Springfield train, where I met Mrs. Booth, there on the platform with his grip in his hand, stood Mr. Redmond. My husband said at once "why, I thought you were not going to ask him to go this week." I explained that I hadn't, but told about my conversation with Mrs. Redmond, and of course if his wife wished to interfere with his business and send him to Springfield, I was not responsible. Mr. Redmond not only called upon the Governor, but saw several down State legislators whom he knew very well, and through his influence several important votes were secured.

I discovered at Springfield that we had just four classes of legislators—"wets" and "drys" and "dry-wets" and "wet-drys." The "dry-wets" were men who voted for the wet measures but never drank, themselves. The "wet-drys" were those who voted for dry measures but imbibed freely themselves. The "drys" warned us not to trust a single "wet" and the "wets" on the other hand counseled us to take no stock in those hypocritical "drys." As the measure could not be passed without "wet" votes, our scheme of education necessarily had to include "wets" as well as "drys."

I well remember of asking a certain "wet" legislator from a foreign section in Chicago if he would vote for the suffrage bill. He looked surprised and said, "Don't you think the women would vote out all the saloons?" I answered that I hoped so. He seemed dumfounded by such frankness and sort of gasped, "yet you ask me, a

'wet,' to vote for the bill?" I then explained as best I could, that I supposed all honest "wets" as well as "drys" felt the same way about the saloons, that while we might differ on how to settle the temperance question, still we all really hoped that those places where men wasted their money and where boys and girls were frequently lured to destruction, were done away with. He looked a little dazed and said nothing. I of course thought we had lost his vote, and was happily surprised the next morning when this same man came to me with a very sober face and said: "I thought and thought about what you said all night, and I guess you are right—you can count on my vote," and he kept his word.

The Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill was introduced in the House by Representative Charles L. Scott (Dem.) and in the Senate by Senator Hugh S. Magill, Jr., (Rep.). It was decided however, to let the suffrage bill lie quiescent in the House and secure its passage first through the Senate.

After nearly three months of strenuous effort the bill finally passed the Senate on May 7th by a vote of 29 yeas (3 more than the required majority) to 15 nays.

It is doubtful whether we could have secured this favorable action had it not been for the good judgment and diplomacy of Senator Hugh S. Magill, Jr., who had charge of the bill in the Senate. We also had the assistance on each and every occasion of the Democratic Lieutenant Governor, Barratt O'Hara, and among other Senators who helped and who deserve mention were: Martin B. Bailey, Albert C. Clark, Michael H. Cleary, William A. Compton, Edward C. Curtis, Samuel A. Ettleson, Logan Hay, George W. Harris, Walter Clyde Jones, Kent E. Keller, Walter I. Manny and W. Duff Piercy.

The day the bill passed the Senate I left Springfield immediately to address a suffrage meeting to be held in Galesburg that evening, and the next day went to Monmouth where another meeting was held. In both of these towns there was a member of the House who was marked on the card index as "doubtful." Both of these legislators however, afterwards through the influence of their respective constituents voted for the suffrage measure. We soon discovered that there was no class of people for whom a politician had so tender and respectful a regard as for his voting constituents.

After I left Springfield that week Mrs. Booth remained to see that the suffrage measure got safely over to the House. In the meantime there was a mix-up and the suffrage bill was taken by mistake directly to the Committee on Elections without first being recommended to that committee by the Speaker of the House. There was an immediate outcry on the part of the opponents of the measure at such irregular procedure. It was very amusing to find that other Senate bills had been put through in this way and no objections had been raised, but it aroused fierce indignation with the suffrage bill, for the men at Springfield said there had never been such opposition to any other bill.

When I returned to Springfield the following week after this mistake had been made, I learned a lesson about the inadvisability

of talking on elevators. I was on an elevator at the Capitol when some of our legislative opponents, who were in a facetious mood, got on, and one of them remarked, with sidelong glance at me, "How surprised some folks will be later on," and laughed so jubilantly as I got off the elevator that it made me thoughtful. After some meditation I decided that there was an intention to put the suffrage bill into the wrong committee, and this surmise was afterwards proven correct. We wished it to go into the Elections Committee, where we had already ascertained we had sufficient votes to get it out with a favorable recommendation, however, if it was ordered into the Judiciary Committee, it would fall into the hands of the enemy and be killed forever. We worked into the small hours of the night carefully making our plans for the next day. In the meantime James A. Watson, one of our faithful friends and Chairman of the Elections Committee, had returned the suffrage bill to Speaker McKinley, and arrangements were made so that the Speaker could properly turn it over to the Elections Committee. When the morning session opened the bill was ordered to the Elections Committee before our opponents realized their little plot had been frustrated. We were not surprised but they were.

It is doubtful whether we could have secured this favorable action without the powerful assistance of David E. Shanahan. The latter on account of being from a foreign district in Chicago, felt he could not vote for the suffrage bill but he gave us the benefit of his wise counsel. In fact to overcome the pitfalls, which surround the passage of every bill upon which there is a violent difference of opinion, I appealed to the enemies of the measure to give the women of Illinois a square deal. On account of his great influence with other members I especially appealed to Mr. Lee O'Neil Browne, a powerful Democratic leader and one of the best parliamentarians in the House. Mr. Browne had always opposed suffrage legislation but he finally consented to let the bill, so far as he was concerned, come up to third reading, so that it could come out in the open and be voted up or down on its merits, stating frankly that he would try to defeat the bill on the floor of the House. It was this spirit of fair play among the opponents of the measure as well as the loyalty of its friends, that afterwards made possible the great victory of 1913.

During this time Mrs. Booth and I worked alone at Springfield, but now we sent for Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago, who had been an active worker in the Progressive Party, to come to Springfield and she arrived on May 13th. Mrs. Funk was a lawyer, and her legal experience made her services at this time very valuable. A week later, on May 20th, Mrs. Medill McCormick, with her new baby girl, moved from Chicago to Springfield and we immediately enlisted her services. Mrs. McCormick, as the daughter of the late Mark Hanna, had inherited much of her father's keen interest in politics and she was a welcome and most valuable addition to our forces.

The suffrage bill was called up for second reading on June 3rd. There was a most desperate attempt at this time to amend, and if possible kill the measure, but it finally passed on to third reading without

any changes—just as it had come over from the Senate. During this period we found that we were being shadowed by detectives, and we were on our guard constantly, and we never talked over any plans when we were in any public place.

The hope of the opposition now was to influence Speaker McKinley and prevent the bill from coming up, and let it die, as so many bills do die, on third reading. Sometimes bills come up that many legislators do not favor but to preserve their good records they feel obliged to vote for, then afterwards these legislators appeal to the Speaker of the House and ask him to save them by preventing it from ever coming to a final vote. If he is adroit, this can be done without the people as a whole knowing what has happened to some of their favorite measures. Mr. Edward D. Shurtleff said this was done session after session when he was Speaker of the House by the men who had promised to vote for the suffrage bill but never wanted it under any circumstances to pass. The young Speaker of the House looked worn and haggard during these trying days—he told me he had not been allowed to sleep for many nights—that hundreds of men from Chicago and from other parts of Illinois had come down and begged him to never let the suffrage bill come up for the final vote, and threatened him with political oblivion if he did. He implored me to let him know if there was any suffrage sentiment in Illinois.

I immediately telephoned to Chicago to Margaret Dobyne, our faithful Press Chairman, to send the call out for help all over the State, asking for telegrams and letters to be sent at once to Speaker McKinley asking him to bring up the suffrage measure and have it voted upon. She called in Jennie F. W. Johnson, the State Treasurer, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, and other members of the Board and secured the assistance of Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Charles L. Nagely, Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop and other active suffragists to help in this work and wherever possible they reached nearby towns by telephone.

In the meantime I also phoned Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, President of the Chicago Political Equality League, to have Speaker McKinley called up by phone and interviewed when he returned to Chicago that week, and to also have letters and telegrams waiting for him when he returned to Springfield. She organized the novel, and now famous, telephone brigade, by means of which Speaker McKinley was called up every 15 minutes by leading men as well as women, both at his home and his office from early Saturday morning until Monday evening, the days he spent in Chicago. His mother, whom we entertained at a luncheon after the bill had passed, said that it was simply one continuous ring at their house and that someone had to sit right by the phone to answer the calls. Mrs. Treadwell was ably assisted in this work by Mrs. James W. Morrison, President of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Jeane Wallace Butler, a well known manufacturer and exporter, who appealed to business women; Mrs. Edward L. Stillman, an active suffragist in the Rogers Park Woman's Club; Miss Florence King, President of the Woman's Association of Commerce; Miss Mary Miller, President of the Chicago Human Rights

Association; Mrs. Charlotte Rhodus, President of the Woman's Party of Cook County; Miss Belle Squire, President of the No-Vote No-Tax League, and others.

When the Speaker reach Springfield Tuesday morning there were thousands of letters and telegrams waiting for him from every section of Illinois. He needed no further proof that there was suffrage sentiment in Illinois, and acted accordingly. He announced that the suffrage bill would be brought up for final vote on June 11th. We immediately got busy. We divided up our friends among the legislators and each man was personally interviewed by either Mrs. Booth, Mrs. Funk, Mrs. McCormick, or myself.

As soon as the bill had passed the Senate we had realized that with 153 members in the House, we would need help in rounding up the "votes," so we immediately selected sixteen House members whom we appointed as Captains; each Captain was given so many men to look after and see that these men were in their seats whenever the suffrage bill came up for consideration. The following Representatives served as Captains, and rendered efficient service: William F. Burres, John P. Devine, Norman C. Flagg, Frank Gillespie, William A. Hubbard, Roy D. Hunt, J. H. Jayne, W. C. Kane, Medill McCormick, Charles E. Scott, Edward D. Shurtleff, Seymour Stedman, Homer J. Tice, Francis E. Williamson, George H. Wilson and Emil N. Zolla.

The latter part of the week before the bill was to be voted upon I sent telegrams to every man who had promised to vote for the bill in the House, asking him to be present if possible on Tuesday morning as the suffrage bill was to be voted upon Wednesday, June 11th, and we would feel safer to have our friends on hand early.

When the morning of June 11th came there was suppressed excitement at the Capitol. The Captains previously requested to be on hand were there rounding up their men and reporting if any were missing. We immediately called up those who were not there, and if necessary, sent a cab after them, which we had engaged for the day to be ready for any emergency. There was one young man who was especially efficient in the telephone booth so we engaged him to stay at his post all day, so that we could secure quick telephone service when needed.

We all wanted to be in the gallery where we could see that last dramatic struggle, but it seemed to me wiser to have the entrance of the House guarded to prevent any friendly legislators from leaving during roll call, and to prevent any of our opponents from violating the law and entering the House during the session. The husky door-keeper, who was opposed to suffrage, could not be counted upon to keep out anti-suffrage lobbyists if they desired to enter, consequently I took up my post near the House door, which was the only entrance left open that day, and was furnished a chair by the man who conducted a cigar stand near the entrance. Mrs. Booth and Mrs. McCormick sat in the gallery and checked off the votes, and Mrs. Funk carried messages and instructions and kept me advised of the developments in the House. Shortly after the session opened the before men-

tioned doorkeeper came and very brusquely ordered me to go to the gallery. Around the rotunda rail lounged a number of our opponents, so I said I preferred to remain where I was. He scowled his disapproval, and presently returned and said that one of the House members who was an active opponent of our measure, said if I did not go to the gallery at once he would introduce and pass a resolution forcing me to do so. I answered politely saying that of course the member was privileged to introduce any resolution he desired, but in the meantime I would remain where I was. The men around the rotunda rail were watching the whole procedure and when I still remained in spite of this warning they regarded me with unfriendly eyes. There was a lawyer among them who longed to get inside that day, but he did not like, even with the backing of a friendly doorkeeper, to violate the law—that forbade any lobbyist to enter the House after the session had convened—in my presence. The dookeeper in reporting the incident afterwards said, "I did not dare touch her and march her up into the gallery where she belonged." As a matter of fact any citizen of Illinois had a legal right to be where I was, if he so desired. In the meantime several friends becoming tired with the long discussions and frequent roll calls, started to leave, but I persuaded them in the interest of a great cause, to return. So while I could only hear the sound of voices and from Mrs. Funk's reports get some idea of the fight that was raging inside, I was glad that I had remained as guardian of the door, for the main, all-important object after all was to pass the bill.

During this time a House member came rushing out and said "We have lost." I immediately sent the boy, whom we had engaged for this purpose, for Mrs. Funk and told her I knew there was a mistake for we had the votes and no men had left the House. Shortly afterwards there was a deafening roar and several men rushed out and exclaimed "We have won. The bill has passed." I remember of turning my face to the wall and shedding a few quiet tears and when I looked around there were about ten men who were all surreptitiously wiping their eyes. The Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill passed the House by the following vote: Yeas 83 (6 more than the required majority) to nays 58.

It was a great victory. It was claimed there was plenty of money at Springfield—a million dollars or more—ready to be used to defeat the law, but not one Illinois legislator could be influenced to break his word. The bill was passed through the co-operation and voting together of men from all political parties, men of different religious faiths, and it was dramatic on the floor of the House to have the fight for our bill led by Edward D. Shurtleff, at the time leader of the "wets," and George H. Wilson, leader of the "drys." It was clearly demonstrated that we may as a people, differ on questions of creed, and honestly differ on questions of policy—these differences of opinion are after all, purely matters of birth and environment—but there are great fundamental principles of right which touch human happiness and human life upon which we all stand together.

In fact the men who voted for the suffrage bill at Springfield had become convinced that the suffrage bill was basic in its nature and stood back of, and took precedence over all other measures for philanthropy and reform. They realized also that no state would even be approaching permanent better conditions with a fundamental wrong at the core of its Government, and that "in a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—"people" could be interpreted only as meaning women as well as men.

The Illinois legislators in voting for the suffrage measure made themselves forever great—they gave Illinois a place in history no other State can ever fill, for Illinois was the first State east of the Mississippi and the first State even bordering the great father of waters, to break down the conservatism of the great Middle West and give suffrage to its women. It was claimed that there had been no event since the Civil War of such far-reaching national significance as the passage of the suffrage bill in Illinois. This seemed like a prophecy, for since that time Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said that New York women never could have won their great suffrage victory in 1917 if Illinois had not first opened the door in 1913, and the winning of suffrage in New York so added to the political strength of the suffrage movement in Congress that it made possible the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in 1919, so the work in Illinois was fundamental and as vitally important to the women of the whole nation as it was to the women of Illinois.

We were especially grateful when we had secured the vote of Mr. Edward D. Shurtleff, always before opposed to suffrage. He had been for years Speaker of the House, and was acknowledged to be one of the most astute and ablest men in Springfield. We went to him frequently for counsel, and his practical knowledge of legislative procedure tided us over many difficulties.

Charles L. Scott, who introduced the bill in the House, deserves especial mention. Mr. Scott was liked by all of the legislators and he refused to introduce any other bills during this session so that he could be free to devote all of his time and energy in working for the passage of the suffrage bill. Other men who helped, and some of whom stood out against strong pressure of our opponents, were: John A. Atwood, Joseph C. Blaha, Randolph Boyd, Lucas I. Butts, Thomas Campbell, Franklin S. Catlin, John M. Curran, Israel Dudgeon, Thomas H. Hollister, John Houston, F. E. J. Lloyd, Thomas E. Lyon, William R. McCabe, Frank J. Ryan, James A. Watson, and others.

Immediately after the passage of the suffrage bill terrific pressure was brought to bear on Governor Dunne to get him if possible to veto the measure. Our opponents tried to get Attorney General Patrick J. Lucey to declare the law unconstitutional. We were given great assistance at this time by Hiram Gilbert, a constitutional lawyer—a prominent Democrat and powerful with the administration, who declared the suffrage law was constitutional.

We gave a banquet in the name of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, to the Illinois legislators and their wives, at the Leland Hotel on June 13th, and I remember at that time some of the lobby objected to inviting those who had voted against the measure, but this would have been bad policy and it was finally decided that all must be invited, opponents as well as friends, and telegrams were sent to suffragists throughout the State, urging them to be present, and many came. I asked Mrs. McCormick to take charge of this banquet, which was a brilliant success. She had printed a roll of honor which we asked all of the men who had voted for the suffrage bill to sign. Governor Dunne was given an ovation when he entered the banquet hall and he also signed the roll of honor.

Immediately after the banquet Mrs. McCormick was sent to Chicago to secure favorable opinions from able lawyers on the constitutionality of the suffrage bill. These opinions she forwarded to me and I delivered them personally to the Governor. Mr. William L. O'Connell, a personal friend of Governor Dunne, and a prominent Chicago Democrat, was in Springfield at this time and helped to counteract the work being done by the enemies of suffrage. Margaret Haley was also in Springfield and made many calls upon the Governor at this time, urging him to sign the suffrage bill. The Governor stood out against all opposition and signed the suffrage bill on June 26th, and by so doing earned the everlasting gratitude of every man and woman in Illinois who stands for human liberty. After the bill was signed the good news was telegraphed all over the State and by previous arrangement flags were raised simultaneously all over Illinois.

As there had been no time during this strenuous period to raise funds, when we returned to Chicago we found the State Treasury empty although the entire cost of the Springfield campaign, which lasted for over six months and included railroad fare for the lobbyists to and from Springfield, innumerable telegrams and long distance telephone calls, postage, stationery, printing, stenographic help, hotel bills and incidentals, was only \$1,567.26. We therefore very gratefully accepted the offer of the Chicago Examiner to publish a suffrage edition of that paper, and netted as a result, about \$15,000 for the suffrage cause, which included over \$4,000 which we paid out to local organizations that had secured advertisements for the paper on a commission basis, as well as several thousand dollars' worth of furniture with which we beautifully furnished the new suffrage headquarters which were rented that fall in the Tower Building, Chicago.

I was again elected President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association at the convention held in Peoria in October, 1913.

The enemies of suffrage were beginning to attack the constitutionality of the bill simultaneously in different towns throughout the State, and finally suit was brought against the Election Commissioners of Chicago which involved the constitutionality of the suffrage law. We secured as our counsel John J. Herrick, a recognized authority on constitutional law, and Judge Charles S. Cutting. These two men by agreement with the Election Commissioners took charge of the fight. They consulted, however, with Mr. Charles H. Mitchell, their regular

counsel as well as with Judge Willard McEwen, whom the Commissioners engaged as special counsel on the case. They also entered into counsel with Judge Isaiah T. Greenacre, regular counsel for the Teachers' Federation, and Joel F. Longnecker, a young lawyer active in the Progressive Party, both of whom donated their services. There was a hot fight in the Supreme Court which lasted for many months, the case being carried over from one term of the Supreme Court to the next without being decided.

During this time it was vitally necessary to demonstrate public sentiment by getting as many women as possible to vote at the municipal elections in April, so Civic Leagues were organized in every city ward. Splendid work was done by Mrs. Ida Darling Engelke, Ward Chairman for the Chicago Political Equality League, and all of the city work was directed by Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Chairman of organization work for the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. They called upon all other organizations to help, and as a result over 200,000 women registered in Chicago alone, and thousands more down state.

On May 2nd of this year (1914) we held the first large suffrage parade ever given in Chicago. Governor Edward F. Dunne with Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, reviewed the procession and over 15,000 women marched down Michigan Boulevard with hundreds of thousands of people lining both sides of the way for over a mile and a half.

The General Federation was also going to hold its biennial convention in Chicago in June and we realized, with our suffrage bill hanging in the balance in the Supreme Court, that it was most important to secure the passage of a suffrage resolution by the Federation.

I was appointed by the State Board to look after this work, and through the help of local suffragists as well as through the co-operation of the General Federation Board we succeeded in securing the adoption of a suffrage resolution on June 13th, and by an extraordinary coincidence on this same day the Supreme Court of Illinois pronounced the suffrage law constitutional. A banquet had already been planned by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for that evening to be held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel in honor of the General Federation. All of these events came at an opportune moment and this great banquet became historic in its significance and was transformed into a banquet of thanksgiving where over a thousand women gave expression to their joy over these two great victories. This banquet was ably managed by Mrs. George A. Soden, assisted by Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Charles A. Nagely, Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer, as well as many others.

It was demonstrated that all of these events had changed public sentiment in regard to the suffrage question. Congress was in session this summer and Congressmen were unable to fill their Chautauqua dates and I was asked to make suffrage speeches at fifty Chautauquas covering nine states, filling dates for a Democrat, the Honorable

Champ Clark, and for a Republican, Senator Robert LaFollette, and afterwards filled dates for William Jennings Bryan.

The State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in Chicago in 1914 and I was again re-elected President.

When the Legislature convened in January, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, the newly elected Legislative Chairman, and I went to Springfield and attended every session of the Legislature from January until it closed in June. A resolution was introduced to repeal the suffrage law and several measures were introduced to amend the law to give the women the right to vote for some minor offices. We were advised by our lawyers to never amend the law, because to do so would involve the whole question and bring on a fresh fight in the Supreme Court in regard to the constitutionality of the law. We employed all the tactics used in 1913 and finally succeeded in killing the repeal resolution in committee and the other bills during various stages of their progress. The Illinois suffragists fully realized the importance of preserving intact the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1913, because it was the first bill of the kind ever passed in the United States, and established the precedent which enabled many other states afterwards to pass similar bills and the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill is called in other states "The Illinois Law." We were assisted greatly during this session by Mr. Randolph Boyd in the House and Senators Richard Barr and Edward Curtis in the Senate, and by Harriet Stokes Thompson, President of the Chicago Political Equality League, who rendered invaluable assistance by helping to counteract the wrong kind of propaganda that was being carried on at this time and which was most detrimental to our work at Springfield. It was hard for some women, even suffragists, who did not understand the political situation and the dangers that threatened the suffrage law, to comprehend why the suffrage law could not be amended any time, if by so doing, they could secure the right to vote for even one more minor office. They did not realize that in grasping for more we would be imperiling all.

In the fall of 1915 I positively declined the presidency and Mrs. Harrison Monroe Brown of Peoria was elected President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and I went to our home in Florida for a much needed rest.

I returned the following spring in time to raise some money for the depleted treasury of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and to help a little in what is now known as the famous "rainy day suffrage parade" which was held while the National Republican Convention was in session in Chicago in June, 1916. On this memorable occasion 5,000 women marched through the pouring rain over a mile down Michigan Boulevard and from there to the Coliseum where the National Republican Convention was being held. I was one of a committee of four representing every section of the country whom Mrs. Catt selected to address the Platform Committee of which Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was Chairman, and request that an equal suffrage plank be incorporated into the National Platform of the Republican Party. Just as we finished our plea the rain-drenched

marchers made a dramatic climax by marching into the Coliseum where the hearing was being held, and in spite of the opposition of Senator Lodge, a full suffrage plank was put in the National Platform of the Republican Party. Among the women who assisted in organizing this parade were: Mrs. James Morrison, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, Mrs. Dora Earle, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, Mrs. Judith Weil Loewenthal, Mrs. George A. Soden and other members of the State Board.

As there was much important legislative work to be done at the next session of the Legislature I was persuaded to again accept the presidency of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. There were delegates present at this convention from every section of Illinois, and after a thorough discussion the suffrage policy of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for the ensuing year was adopted. The consensus of opinion was that owing to the iron bound Constitution of Illinois, next to impossible to amend, the only practical way to secure full suffrage for Illinois women by state action was through the medium of a new Constitution.

The Citizens' Association, composed of some of the leading men of Chicago and of the State, had been working to secure a new Constitution for over thirty years. They sent Mr. Shelby M. Singleton, Secretary of the Association, to consult with us about the work to be done at Springfield, and asked us to take charge of the legislative work, as they said our Association was the only Association in the State powerful enough and which all men trusted, to secure its adoption.

Mrs. McGraw and I went to Springfield at the beginning of the 1916 session, and after a struggle that lasted over ten weeks the Constitutional Convention Resolution was finally passed. It would have been impossible to have passed the resolution without the powerful support of Governor Lowden, Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, Attorney General Brundage, and other State officers as well as Senator Edward Curtis in the Senate and Randolph Boyd in the House who rendered especially efficient service, and at the last moment Roger Sullivan of Chicago threw his powerful influence in favor of the resolution.

While this work was going on Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who disagreed with the policy of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, organized what she called the "Suffrage Amendment Alliance" and sent lobbyists to Springfield to work for a direct suffrage amendment to the Constitution. She had such an amendment introduced and it was defeated in the Senate where it received only 6 votes and in the House it was defeated by a vote of 100 nays to 18 yeas. This action showed moral courage on the part of the legislators because many of those who voted against the measure had been the loyal, valiant friends of suffrage for years. They believed as we all believed—that a suffrage amendment, under the difficult-to-be-amended Constitution of Illinois, would be doomed to certain defeat if submitted to the men voters of the State, and furthermore that a resolution calling

for a Constitutional Convention had already passed and would adequately take care of the suffrage question. In urging Mrs. McCulloch to withdraw this amendment, Governor Lowden and other prominent suffragists pointed out to her that the defeat of the suffrage amendment at the polls would mean that a suffrage article would not be incorporated in a new Constitution, for the members of the Constitutional Convention would feel dubious about incorporating an article in a new Constitution that had just been defeated at the polls.

After the close of the Legislature the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association realized that a state-wide campaign of education would have to be instituted at once to insure a favorable vote at the polls, so the Woman's Emergency League was formed to raise a fund sufficient to establish educational centers in every one of the 102 counties in Illinois. Just as all plans were laid for this campaign the United States entered the great World War, and immediately all women were thrust into the rush of war work. I was appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Woman's Committee of the State Council of National Defense, and every member of our Board was immediately busy with Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other war work.

While doing our war work we went on with the work of the Woman's Emergency League. Held over a thousand meetings that summer, arousing the people to a realization that they must manifest not only national patriotism but State patriotism by voting for a new Constitution in Illinois. On account of the numerous Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives we raised only about \$15,000 but the educational work carried on this summer was an important factor in later on winning success at the polls. The money raised helped us to publish large quantities of literature and to send many speakers out into the State.

Among the women who rendered valuable service in the Woman's Emergency League were: Mrs. George A. Soden, First Vice-President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who rendered most efficient service as its Treasurer; Mrs. Stella S. Janotta, President of the Chicago Political Equality League; Mrs. Albert Schweizer, Mrs. George S. Haskell, Mrs. Julius Loeb, Mrs. Lyman A. Walton, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Mable Gilmore Reinecke, Mrs. Harriet Stokes Thompson, Mrs. Anna Wallace Hunt, Mrs. Jeane Wallace Butler, Miss Nellie Carlin, Mrs. Thomas McClelland, Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. Samuel Slade of Highland Park, Mrs. Charles Wilmot and Mrs. Louis E. Yager, both of Oak Park, Miss Catherine K. Porter of Freeport, Mrs. Blanche B. West of Bushnell, Mrs. Mary E. Sykes of Monmouth, Mrs. E. B. Coolley of Danville, Mrs. O. P. Bourland of Pontiac, Mrs. William Aleshire of Plymouth, Dr. Lucy Waite of Park Ridge, Mrs. Mary B. Busey of Urbana, Mrs. E. B. Griffin of Grant Park, Dr. M. D. Brown of DeKalb, Mrs. George Thomas Palmer of Springfield and Mrs. Elizabeth Murray Shepherd of Elgin.

During this period of strenuous activity another attack was made by the liquor interests on the constitutionality of the suffrage law, and the case brought before the Supreme Court. We engaged Mr.

James G. Skinner, an able lawyer who had acted as Assistant Corporation Counsel under a previous city administration. He prepared an elaborate brief covering all disputed points and won the case, and the woman's suffrage law was again pronounced constitutional in December, 1917.

At the State Convention in Danville I was again re-elected President. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association now had organizations in every Senatorial and Congressional district with an affiliated membership of over 200,000 women.

After this election I was soon called to Washington by Mrs. Catt to work for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and spent many months in Washington during this year. I was very fortunate while there to have a personal interview with President Wilson which lasted for fifty-five minutes and added my plea to all of the other pleas that had been made, urging him to personally address the Senate on the question of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In the meantime Mrs. J. W. McGraw ably directed the educational and organization work of the Association. We were working to secure the adoption of the Constitutional Convention Resolution at the polls and Mrs. McGraw secured the co-operation of Mrs. Reed, Legislative Chairman of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, and they together appointed two women in each Congressional district to organize the educational work in their respective districts.

During this time Mrs. McGraw and I prepared and published a leaflet entitled "Why Illinois Needs a New Constitution" which was widely circulated among men's as well as women's organizations.

In the spring of 1918 Governor Lowden appointed Judge Orrin N. Carter of the Supreme Court as Chairman of a state wide committee that worked in co-operation with the state wide committee of women we had already appointed.

In 1918 the State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in the latter part of October in Chicago and I was re-elected President. This Convention was planned as a climax to the ten-day whirlwind campaign for the Constitutional Convention Resolution that was being held throughout the State. A feature of this campaign was the Constitutional Convention Tag Day. This tag day did not include the payment of any money for the privilege of being tagged, and consequently was a pleasant surprise to the people. Each man was given a tag who promised to vote for the Constitutional Convention Resolution. Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer was in charge of the Tag Day in Chicago, as well as the rest of the city campaign.

As a result of all this labor the Constitutional Convention Resolution was passed at the general election on November 4th. Total vote cast 975,545. In favor of Constitution 562,012. Majority of all votes cast at the election for a new Constitution 74,239.

In 1919 the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected and it convened at Springfield in January, 1920. One of its first acts was to adopt an article giving full suffrage to Illinois women to be incorporated in the new Constitution.

I was again called to Washington in the early part of 1919 to help round up votes for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. When it finally passed the Senate in June, 1919, word was telegraphed to me while I was in Peoria where I had gone to address the State Convention of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. Wild enthusiasm prevailed among the women when they learned the news. I was literally showered with peonies from the banquet table and the women acted as though it was a suffrage jubilee convention.

Mrs. McGraw and I now immediately hurried to Springfield where we had already made arrangements for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and the Illinois Legislature ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment on June 10th. The vote in the Senate was as follows: Ayes 46, and no votes against the measure. The vote in the House was ayes 135, nays 3.

A minor mistake was made in the first certified resolution sent from the Secretary of State's office at Washington to the Governor of Illinois. To prevent the possibility of any legal quibbling, Governor Lowden telegraphed the Secretary of State at Washington to send on at once a corrected certified copy of the resolution. This was done and the ratification was reaffirmed by the Illinois Legislature on June 17th, the vote in the Senate then being: Ayes 49, nays none, and the vote in the House was ayes 134, nays 4.

Owing to a misunderstanding of the facts in the case for a short time there was some controversy as to whether Illinois was entitled to first place as being the first State to ratify the Federal Amendment. An exhaustive study of the case was made by Attorney General Brundage and a brief prepared showing that the mistake in the first certified papers did not affect the legality of the ratification on June 10th, as the mistake was made in copying the introductory resolution, and not in the law itself. The opinion of the Attorney General was afterwards accepted by the Secretary of State's office at Washington. So Illinois, the first State east of the Mississippi to grant suffrage to its women, was also the first State to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In celebration of this great Illinois victory a Jubilee Banquet was held on June 24th at the Hotel La Salle. I presided over the banquet and the guests of honor were Governor and Mrs. Lowden. Among the speakers were the leading suffragists of the State as well as the Governor, Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, and prominent members of the State Legislature.

In October, 1919, the State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in Chicago and I was re-elected President for the seventh time. Women were present from every section of Illinois. It was voted at this Convention to continue the work for the speedy ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and if this failed to succeed in 1920, to work for a full suffrage article in the new Illinois Constitution when it was submitted to the men voters of the State.

At the National Convention held in St. Louis the early part of 1919 I had invited, in the name of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, the National American Woman Suffrage Association to hold

its next annual convention in Chicago. This invitation was accepted and the National Convention was to convene in February, 1920. Immediately after the State Convention, plans were formulated by our State Board to take care of this convention. We called together representatives of the Chicago Political Equality League, Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, Seventh Ward Auxiliary of the State Association, The Evanston Political Equality League, The Federation of Chicago Women's Clubs, The North End Woman's Club, Chicago Woman's Club, The Oak Park Suffrage Club and other local organizations. I was elected chairman and Mrs. McGraw vice-chairman of the committee having this convention in charge. Different organizations were appointed to take charge of different days of the convention and different phases of the work. In addition to the work necessary for the preparation of the convention proper, there was also five conferences to be held of the different departments of the League of Woman Voters which had been tentatively organized at St. Louis the year before. We engaged the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel for the general convention hall and the Elizabethan Room was engaged also for the entire convention, as well as many other rooms to be used for committee meetings, press and conference rooms. Mrs. McGraw watched every detail and rendered especially valuable service. The chairman of the Finance Committee, Mrs. Samuel Slade, also deserves especial mention, for she, with the help of her committee raised the funds with which to defray all expenses of the convention.

The ratification by the states of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was progressing so rapidly that this convention was called the "Jubilee Convention" and the National American Woman Suffrage Association having practically completed its work—the full enfranchisement of the women of the United States—disbanded, and its members united with the League of Woman Voters formerly organized at this convention. In the meantime it was voted that the Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association remain intact until the thirty-sixth state should ratify.

The convention was said to be the most brilliant convention ever held in the history of the national association. Prominent women from every section of the United States were present and I was gratified to have the hotel management of the Congress Hotel, which is made the headquarters for so many conventions, tell me it was the best managed and most orderly convention ever held in their hotel.

The convention was held in February, and Mrs. Catt hoped we would secure the thirty-sixth state within a month, but anti-suffrage forces were active and the ratification was delayed. In April she telegraphed me that a campaign was to be launched in Connecticut where every state was to be represented, and she wished me to represent Illinois; the object of this campaign being to persuade if possible, the Connecticut Governor to call a special session for the purpose of ratifying the suffrage amendment, which in spite of this demonstration of national sentiment, he refused to do.

As it was being used as an anti-suffrage argument that the women in many suffrage states failed to exercise their full franchise rights it seemed best on my return from Connecticut to call a Board meeting at once and make preparations for a state wide campaign among Illinois women and get as many of them as possible to go to the polls in November and participate in the Presidential election. An "Every woman at the polls Committee" was organized for the purpose and women were appointed in the down State towns and cities to take care of the work in their various localities and a large committee was organized in Chicago. I was elected chairman of the State wide committee, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, State Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer, a member of the State Board was appointed Chicago Chairman. The Chicago Political Equality League and the Woman's City Club took an active part in this campaign and the club rooms of the latter were selected as the headquarters of the Chicago Committee and the State headquarters of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for the Executive Committee rooms. This work was all preparatory to a final drive which was to immediately precede the fall election.

In the midst of the summer, on August 18th, the joyful news came that Tennessee was the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association immediately sent out a call for its State Convention to be held in September in Chicago. At this convention the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, its work finished and Illinois women now free, disbanded, and its members formed the Illinois League of Women Voters, affiliated with the National League of Women Voters and prepared to go on with the great patriotic work of arousing women to a realization that it is as vitally important to vote for one's country as it is to fight for one's country.*

* The records of the Illinois Equal Suffrage League have been deposited in the State Historical Library of Springfield.

PART III

Contributions to State History



SCOTS AND SCOTTISH INFLUENCE IN CONGRESS—AN HISTONICO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY.

(By Arthur MacDonald, Washington, D. C.)

For many years the author has studied unfortunate and unsuccessful individuals in the community, all of whom were in institutions. Such persons are usually classed with the abnormal, but as a matter of fact, probably three-fourths of them (excepting the insane and feeble-minded) are as normal as other people. While it is important to investigate these so-called abnormals and unsuccessful ones, it is much more important to study those who are successful in the community, that is, persons of ability, talent or genius. The methods of study are the same for both normal and abnormal.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF MODERN MAN.

A study of the Scots and Scottish influence in Congress comes under the general head of Anthropology, but anthropology of modern man and not of dead, savage and prehistoric man, to which anthropologists have given almost all their attention.

That the study of modern man is a new direction for anthropological research, is shown by the fact that the first scientific investigation ever made of a human being, was that conducted upon Emil Zola by some twenty French specialists in anthropology, psychology and medicine; this was published in 1897.

It may seem strange that anthropology has been occupied so little with the study of modern man. Whatever the cause of this neglect, it is due time that man, as he is now, be studied, if for no other reason, than to remove the stigma of our ignorance of human beings, as contrasted with our much more accurate knowledge of animals.

From the anthropological point of view, history can be regarded as a subject for scientific investigation, with a view of understanding man better and assisting in his development and progress. Here man can be considered both as an individual, organization,¹ nation or group of nations.² It is true that other branches, like history and politics

¹ See Senate Document (by author) No. 532, 60th Congress, First Session, where a summary of this study is given.

² See a study of the United States Senate (by the author) published in Spanish, under the title of "Estudio del Senado de los Estados Unidos de America," in *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Politicas*, 21 de Enero de 1918. Buenos Aires, 1918.

³ "Mentality of Nations" (by author). Open Court, Chicago, August 1912. Here nations are compared as to their educational and intellectual status.

have pursued these fields, but unfortunately not always in the scientific spirit. To cite an ancient pun, it is *his*—story, rather than all the facts.

HISTORY OF SCOTCH BLOOD.

There is a tradition that the Scotch were originally a Greek tribe. Tacitus speaks of campaigns against the early Scotchmen, called Calledonians, as though often defeated in battle but never subdued. Scotch leaders may be conquered, but the people are very difficult to suppress.

The inhabitants of Scotland, called Scots or Scotch (after a Celtic tribe originally from Ireland) are derived from widely different stocks. The most primitive races were long-headed (*dolico-cephalic*); following these, came a broad-headed (*brachy-cephalic*) people, tall, with large jaws and faces; the third ingredient is a teutonic long-headed race of lofty stature. From the stone age to the 11th century, there is evidence of a continuous Scandinavian invasion, entering largely into the blood of the Scotch Highlanders, who are the tallest people in the world, with an average height of 1,746 meters. Their cephalic index is 76.2—77.9. The population of Scotland contains only a small number of non-Scots; in 1911, only 8 per cent were non-Scotch, and more than half of these were Irish. The foreign element is only about $\frac{1}{2}\%$. The mass of the people are Presbyterians.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCOTCH.

The characteristics of the Scotch are found in almost all peoples, but some qualities seem to be more dominant in the Scotch than in other nations.

The Scotch have been especially noted for three things: independence, persistence and zeal for education. Thus, the history of almost any of the members of Congress with Scotch blood will illustrate these characteristics. The Scotchman sinks his nationality in the country of his adoption; he makes himself at home in all countries and is internationally popular. The Scotch are rational wanderers and good colonizers. It has been predicted, that when the North Pole is finally discovered, a Scotchman will be found astride of it.

The Scotch have little fear, can endure great privation and peril, but they are not easy to live with, if one does not agree with them. They are not fussy agitators, not visionaries, but cool, calculating and practical, with hard-headed horse sense. Charlatanism and quackery have no place for the Scotsman.

Their family feeling was intense, yet it had little effusive expression; the men were not given to emotional exhibitions of any kind, yet the Scotchman will make any sacrifice for his family, and if necessary would not hesitate for a moment to give up his life. The Scotch have always accorded woman a very high place. The Scots were so thorough and persistent, that when they went wrong, they preferred grand rather than petty larceny, and if it were murder, it was generally to hang.

In war, if the enemy gave up entirely, he was treated with magnanimity. The Scotch had their faults, but they were of force and violence, not of cowardice and treachery; they may have been hard at a bargain, but once made, it was carried out to the letter; their integrity was unquestioned. Their hatred for tyrants was inborn.

SCOTCH AS LEADERS IN EDUCATION.

In 1496 popular education was strongly advocated in Scotland, even compulsory education for eldest sons of freeholders and persons of substances, was the law.

Scotland recognized the value of Newton's work thirty-five years before England did. Napier in the 16th Century of social and ecclesiastical turmoil, was the inventor of logarithms. The supremacy of the Scotch in the British Isles, elementary and secondary education is generally acknowledged. In proportion to population, Scotland has a much larger number of university students than England.

The Scotch-Irish schoolmaster was a familiar figure in the early formative period of American education. The American school system has a Scottish stamp; the American University resembles the Scotch more than the English. The Scotch had such great respect for learning, that they would not listen even to a Calvinistic preacher unless he had a classical and theological education.

Of the college men in the Constitutional Convention, more than one-half were of Scotch descent.

SCOTCH IN AMERICA.

The first notable Scotch arrivals in America were shipped as prisoners of war, sentenced to be transported to American plantations and sold into service. No men ever came under such discouraging conditions. Yet the Scotch have cut deeper into the history of the United States, probably, than any other nationality, though they have not been the most numerous or boastful.

The Scotch in America have shown practically the characteristics of their mother country. They are persons of few words, dislike of display, quiet and undemonstrative in behavior, but more firm and determined in spirit; cautious and reserved, but energetic and tenacious with a capacity for hard work which with patience, courage and endurance is liable to result in success. "Vigorous initiative" is a phrase especially fitting the Scotch. Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West" calls the Scotch a "stern and virile people," and speaks of the leaders of national expansion, who had Scotch-Irish as "dominant strains" in their blood.

THE SCOTCH AS POLITICAL LEADERS.

Bancroft, a typical New Englander, says that the first voice raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain, did not come from Puritans in New England, nor Dutch in New York, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.¹ It was Patrick Henry, a Scot, who said,

¹ Bancroft, George, History of the United States, Vol. 5, page 11.

"I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." It was John Witherspoon, of New Jersey, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, who were of the eleven Scotchmen who signed the Declaration of Independence. Witherspoon said, "He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy of the name of freeman." On this appeal the Declaration of Independence was signed. It is the handwriting of a Scotchman (who was Secretary of the Congress), publicly read to the people by a Scotchman and first printed by still another Scotchman. Of the fifty-four members of the Convention for the new nation, twelve were of Scotch descent, but on many occasions they had much more influence than their numbers show. One Scot stood easily at the head, and for intellectual eminence and statesmanship outranks them all: it was Alexander Hamilton, who was a member of Congress at twenty-five years of age.

In an original study of the "Distribution of Ability in the United States,"² by Senator Lodge, the distinguished author finds that in statesmen Virginia leads, with Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut closely following; and that as to nationality, the Scotch-Irish and Scotch lead in statesmen.

From 1860 to 1900, there have been in the United States some eighty Senators of Scotch descent; among whom are Blair, Cameron, Cockrell, Logan, McPherson, Teller, McEnery, Vance, Blaine, Breckinridge, Morton, McCumber and Beveridge.

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². Lodge, Henry Cabot—"The Distribution of Ability in the United States, Century Magazine, September, 1891.

SCOTCH INFLUENCE IN THE SENATE OF THE SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Inasmuch as the Senators who have favored me with the details of their Scotch ancestry, have had very different lengths of service, it is impossible to estimate by statistical methods their legislative success or ability. As many of the Senators, however, both Scotch and non-Scotch, were members of the Senate of the 62nd Congress, I shall utilize a detailed study which I made of that Senate, published in Spanish¹, but not as yet in English.

The Senate of this particular Congress was selected because it might be called a normal Senate. The majority party had been in power for a long while and the Senate had settled down to what might be called the regular order.

The present study of Scottish influence upon legislation in this Senate is new, and an additional chapter to the study in Spanish. Thus opportunity will be afforded for comparison between Scotch and non-Scotch ingredients. Therefore, before presenting the main legislative activities of individual Scotch Senators, it will be more instructive and satisfactory to make an investigation in the Senate of the 62nd Congress. While the conclusions drawn apply only to this particular Senate, they are liable to be approximately true of other normal Senates.

SCOTCH MORE PROGRESSIVE AND MORE FAITHFUL IN VOTING.

Table 1 gives percentages of attendance at Quorum and Yea and Nay calls of the Senate of the 62nd Congress as a whole, of its political divisions, and the Senators with Scotch blood similarly classified. It may be noted incidentally that Senators as a body, attend yea and nay calls 10 per cent more than they do quorum calls, contradicting a statement sometimes made, that Senators dodge voting.

TABLE I—QUORUM AND YEA AND NAY CALLS (*Percentages.*)

	No.	%	Quorum	Yea and Nay	Increase in Voting
The Senate	80	100	59	69	10
Democrats	34	43	55	66	11
Republicans	46	57	62	77	15
Senators with Scottish blood.....	18	22	57	68	11
Republicans with no Scottish blood....	36	79	63	71	8
Republicans with Scottish blood.....	10	21	60	68	8
Democrats with no Scottish blood.....	26	77	55	65	10
Conservative Republicans with Scotch blood	5	50	60	63	3
Progressive Republicans with Scotch blood	5	50	60	73	13
Conservative Republicans	34	74	63	70	7
Progressive Republicans	12	26	61	75	16

¹ Estudio del Senado de los Estados Unidos re America, Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas, 12 de Enero de 1918. Buenos Aires, page 390-410.

It will be seen from this table that the progressive Republicans constitute 26 per cent of all Republicans, but that the Scotch progressive Republicans constitute 50 per cent of all Scotch Republicans; that is, Scotch blood flows relative almost double the amount of progressiveness, illustrating the reputation of the Scotch for persistence in demanding independence. It appears also that Scotch progressive Republicans attend quorum calls the same (60 per cent) as Scotch Conservative Republicans, but in the yea and nay calls they excel the Conservatives by 10 per cent. As between Democratic and Republican Senators, the relative number of Scotch is about the same. As between Democrats with Scotch blood and those without, the Scotch answer yea and nay calls 3 per cent more.

In table II will be found percentages as to educational status and geographical position of all Senators with Scotch blood and those without Scotch blood; also, Scotch and non-Scotch Senators can be compared as to previous legislative experience in State Legislatures and House of Representatives. In the last part of the table are given averages for frequency of remarks on the floor and number of subjects discussed. Beginning at the top of the table, it will be seen that 37 per cent of Senators with Scotch blood are university men and 52 per cent college men, and only 11 per cent with common-school education. These percentages are much greater than those for all Senators and non-Scotch Senators, showing decided educational superiority of the Scotch. Also, it will be seen that relatively a very large proportion (61 per cent) of Scotch Senators went to the Western States, confirming the pushing and aggressive nature of the Scotch. The Scotch have distinctly less (10 per cent) previous legislative experience before coming to the Senate than the non-Scotch.

TABLE II.—SCOTCH SUPERIOR IN EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE.

Educational, Geological and Legislative Divisions	All Senators %	Scotch Senators %	Non-Scotch Senators %
University men	25	37	20
College men	47	52	46
Common school education.....	28	11	34
Eastern States	2	10	33
Western States	42	61	38
Southern States	29	29	29
Previous legislative experience.....	64	55	66
Previously in House of Representatives.....	32	22	35
Reared in rural districts.....	67	73	66
Reared in City	33	27	33
Professional men	79	89	76
Business men	21	11	24
Breadth of Knowledge	Average	Average	Average
Frequency of remarks.....	166	204	155
Number of subjects discussed.....	50	60	48
Age in years.....	59	56	59

It will be noted that a much higher per cent of the Scotch (73) are reared in the country than other Senators.

As in their educational status, the Scotch stand much the highest, as they show distinctly the largest per cent (89) of professional men and lowest per cent (11) of business men, as compared with other Senators.

In regard to frequency of remarks on the floor, the Scotch average very much the highest (204) and likewise as to average number of subjects discussed they distinctly excel. The author has shown in his study of the 62nd Senate in Spanish, that in general the best educated Senators stand the highest in frequency of remarks and number of subjects discussed. Frequency of remarks has no relation to long speeches, but indicates broader intellectual interest in legislation. Number of subjects discussed also shows greater breadth of knowledge. The Scotch are in general younger than other Senators, their average age being .56, as over against 59, the average of the Senate as a whole.

ESTIMATE OF LEGISLATIVE ABILITY.

The schedule and scale of units of value on which an estimate of legislative ability is based are presented in Table III. By a careful examination of this table, it will be seen that only two and one-half per cent ($2\frac{1}{2}$) of private bills introduced, ten per cent (10) of public bills, twenty-four per cent (24) of joint resolutions and forty-four per cent (44) of pension bills were enacted into law. The unit scale of value or of successful legislation is based upon private bills, the most difficult to have enacted into law. If we let $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent represent units of value, that is, if every private bill enacted into law counts 100 units, then since ten per cent of public bills became law, every public bill enacted into law will count 25 units, every joint resolution 10 units, every pension bill 6 units, and so on. In short, the scale is based upon the degree of difficulty in passage of bills and resolutions. Thus if a Senator introduces a private bill and gets it enacted into law, it counts 100 units; if it passes the Senate only, 25 units. While it is true, in exceptional cases, another Senator may get false credit, in the great majority of cases, it is not true; also exceptional cases may balance each other following the general law of averages.

TABLE III.—SCALE OF UNITS OF VALUE¹ AND SCHEDULES.

Bills and Resolutions	%	Reported Scale of units	%	Passed Senate Scale of Units	Enacted into Law	
					%	Scale of units
Private bills	12	20	10	25	2.5	100
Public bills	35	7	30	8	10	24
Joint Resolutions .....	..	..	42	6	24	10
Pension bills .....	..	..	50	5	44	6
Concurrent resolutions .....	..	..	67	4	56 ²	4
Senate resolutions .....	..	..	74	3	..	..

¹Fractions are omitted in unit scale.

²Passing both houses.

LEGISLATIVE SUPERIORITY OF SCOTCH BLOOD.

Applying then our schedule of legislative units of value to the political divisions of the Senate of the 62nd Congress, and to the Senators with and without Scotch blood, the results will be seen in Table IV.

The table shows that Democratic Senators, as a whole, are almost three times less successful in securing legislative results than the Republicans. This, however, is easily understood from the fact that minority parties do not hold themselves politically responsible for legislation. If the Senate were studied when the Democrats were the majority party, comparisons might be made.

It will be seen that the progressive Republicans are distinctly inferior in obtaining legislative results as compared with the conservative Republican. This doubtless is due mainly to the fact that they do not always vote with their party and naturally could not expect to be assigned to important committees as frequently as those who are strict party men. Moreover, they are younger and have not been in the Senate, as long as the conservative Republicans. In addition, their legislative efforts are liable to meet with stronger opposition than the legislative measures of the conservative Republicans.¹

In regard to the influence of Scotch blood, it will be seen from Table IV that as between Senators with and Senators without Scotch blood, there is practically no difference in legislative success, their average units value being nearly the same for both public and private bills. But comparing Scotch progressive Republicans with progressive Republicans not Scotch, thus eliminating the legislative disadvantage of progressivism, it will be seen that the Scotch blood is greatly superior to the non-Scotch, it being 409 units of value over against 298 similar units of value for public and private bills combined. That this legislative superiority of Scotch blood is not accidental is shown further by the fact that conservative Republicans with Scotch blood are distinctly superior in legislative results to conservative Republicans without Scotch blood, the average units of value being 626 over against 525.

TABLE IV.—APPLICATION OF UNIT VALUE.

Political and Scotch Divisions of Senators	Average Units of Values		
	Public	Private	Both
Democratic Senators	76	121	197
Republican Senators	156	343	499
Conservative Republicans	161	373	534
Progressive Republicans	126	259	385
The Senate as a whole	122	250	372
Senators with Scotch blood	121	251	372
Senators without Scotch blood	123	250	373
Scotch Progressive Republicans	109	300	409
Progressive Republicans, not Scotch	102	196	298
Scotch Conservative Republicans	201	425	626
Conservative Republicans, not Scotch	161	364	525

¹ For further data on these points, see articles on the study of the Senate in Spanish already referred to.

Practically considered, legislative success in obtaining results is synonymous with legislative ability, otherwise it might throw doubt upon the integrity of Senatorial rules and activities.

CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE SENATE OF THE SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

In order to understand better the study of Scottish influence in the Senate of the 62nd Congress, it will be helpful to state some of the conclusions based upon the history of the legislative activities of 80 members of that Senate in detail.

As already intimated, these conclusions apply only to this Senate, yet they create a presumption of their general application to other similar Senates.

As an illustration of the method of estimating the rank of a Senator, we will take Senator number 1 of Table V, who stood the highest in results of public legislative activity.

The units of value for the reporting, passing and enacting into law bills and resolutions will be found in Table III.

1. The Republican progressives show a higher percentage of attendance at yea and nay calls than the conservative Republicans (70 per cent).

2. Senators who are business men have a higher percentage (61) of attendance at quorum calls than professional men (58), but a lower percentage (66) at yea and nay calls than professional men (69).

3. Chairmen of important committees show the highest percentage of attendance (66) at quorum calls.

4. In general more than half of the bills introduced in the Senate receive little or no attention.

5. The progressive Republicans held the highest average (240) in frequency of remarks on the floor, the conservative Republicans coming second (167), which is very much lower. The Democrats have a still lower average of 138.

6. Frequency of remarks on the floor increases as the degree of education increases; the average for university men is 233, college men 147 and Senators with common-school education 137.

7. Of the Democrats 35 per cent and of the Republicans 17 per cent are university men, but 54 per cent of the Republicans are college men over against 38 per cent of the Democrats.

8. Senators without previous legislative experience before coming to the Senate show the least legislative success or ability.

These conclusions apply only to groups of Senators, and not to individual Senators.

		Units of Value	
Number of public bills reported only.....	(Column 11)	23 x 7 =	161
Number of public bills passed by Senate only.....	(Column 12)	44 x 8 =	352
Number of public bills enacted into law.....	(Column 13)	14 x 25 =	350
Joint resolutions passed by Senate only.....	(Column 14)	2 x 6 =	12
Joint resolutions enacted into law.....	(Column 15)	4 x 10 =	40
Concurrent resolutions passing the Senate only.....	(Column 16)	1 x 3 =	3
Senate resolutions adopted.....	(Column 18)	25 x 3 =	75
Total units of value for public legislative activity.....			993

SCOTCH SUPERIOR IN INITIAL LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY.

Some Senators may not be very successful in obtaining legislative results, due either to their relatively short time in the Senate, or their belonging to the minority party, or their opposition to their own party. But nevertheless, they may have shown much legislative effort or activity in the way of introducing bills, offering amendments, submitting motion and resolutions, petitions and memorials, or by frequency of remarks on the floor of the Senate. These activities come under the head of initial legislation, as indicated in Table VI.

From a general survey of Table VI, it will be seen that with few exceptions (mostly unimportant) the averages of initial legislative activity for Senators with Scotch blood are distinctly higher than for non-Scotch Senators. Beginning at the top of Table VI, it will be noted that Republicans with Scotch blood show distinctively higher averages than the non-Scotch Republicans in introducing public bills, offering amendments and in frequency of remarks on the floor of the Senate and in number of subjects discussed; but they have distinctively less averages for submitting motions and resolutions and presenting petitions and memorials; these last two forms of initial legislative activity are more of a formal nature. Also, the Scotch Democrats excel the non-Scotch in every form of initial activity except the introduction of private bills.

Eliminating the factor of progressivism, we find that the Scotch progressive Republicans and the Scotch conservative Republicans (especially) are superior to the non-Scotch. Comparing the Northern Democrats-Scotch and the Southern Democrats-Scotch with the non-

TABLE VI—INITIAL LEGISLATION IN SENATE OF 62D CONGRESS.

Political and Geographical Divisions and Scotch Ancestry.	Initial Legislative Activities in Averages							
	Initial Legislative Activities in Averages.							
	Public bills and joint resolutions introduced	Private bills introduced	Pension bills introduced	Amendments offered	Motions and resolutions submitted	Petitions and memorials presented	No. of subjects discussed on floor of Senate	Frequency of re- marks on floor of Senate
All Republicans—Scotch blood	34	16	69	33	14	48	59	212
All Republicans—non-Scotch	27	17	73	22	24	69	52	177
All Democrats—Scotch	20	15	48	23	13	42	61	193
All Democrats—non-Scotch	15	23	23	16	7	23	42	121
Progressive Republicans—Scotch	20	14	54	20	13	43	64	204
Progressive—non-Scotch	24	6	23	25	15	26	64	259
Conservative Republicans—Scotch	48	19	85	46	18	54	56	250
Conservative Republicans—non- Scotch	28	20	85	21	26	79	50	157
Northern Democrats—Scotch	26	20	62	29	14	32	50	160
Northern Democrats—non-Scotch	18	13	43	18	9	49	44	131
Southern Democrats—Scotch	19	11	15	23	13	31	69	211
Southern Democrats—non-Scotch	11	30	17	13	7	9	40	114
Northern Democrats (all)	20	14	47	21	15	45	45	138
Southern Democrats (all)	13	25	16	16	8	15	47	138

Scotch, respectively, the Scotch distinctly excel in the introduction of public bills, in amendments offered, in frequency of remarks and number of subjects disclosed; that is, in the most important initial legislative activities.

NUMBER OF GREAT STATESMEN DECREASING.

It is a frequent remark, that our modern statesman do not seem to measure up to those in our early history. This is true, but it is a necessary result of biological law. Though the effects of education and environment are not inherited, they can be handed down to later generations through custom, tradition and history. So while we do not inherit them through the germ cells, we do receive them from the social organism. In this sense, "We are the heirs of all the ages."

DECREASE OF GREAT MEN CAUSED BY MODERN CIVILIZATION.

This social inheritance causes the environment to grow more and more complex, while our inherited natures remain unchanged. This produces disharmony and disturbance, and sometimes the elimination of those not able to adapt themselves to new conditions. Our mental and moral environment has come to us with ever increasing increments, but our inherited natures and abilities have remained fixed. Social heredity has outrun germinal heredity. The struggle between these two forms of heredity, due to the requirements of modern civilization, fortunately is now better understood than in the past.

No modern race of men are equal to the ancient Greeks, who in two centuries produced a galaxy of illustrious men never found since. The average ability of the Athenian race at this period (530 to 430 B. C.) was (according to Galton), on the lowest possible estimate, as much greater than that of the English race of the present day, as the English race is above the African Negro in average ability.

POWER OF MEDIOCRITY DECREASES NUMBER OF GREAT MEN.

It has been found that fathers 72 inches in height had sons with a mean stature of 70.8 inches, which is a regression towards the normal stature of the race. Again fathers 66 inches in height had sons with a mean stature of 68.3 inches, which is a progression towards the normal. This tendency of average height or mediocrity of stature produces the regression or progression to the average or normal type and applies generally because man is subject to heredity in every aspect of his physical and mental make-up.

It has been found that extreme peculiarities of parents are less extreme in children, and that the most gifted parents cannot expect to have children as gifted. This is called the law of filial regression, which is a tendency to the average or mediocrity. For ages the mountains have been washing down into the valleys, and while the general

level has increased in height, the peaks have been disappearing so that we seem to be slowly approaching a generation of exaltation of mediocrity.

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This study of Scottish in Congress is, as already noted, a line of investigation which belongs under the head of Anthropology of Civilized Man, and is a relatively new direction for anthropology.

In order to indicate the varied nature and extent of all such inquiries in a practical way, a list of the author's publications is given. They have proven to be more or less of a pioneer character, and deal with both the normal and abnormal, and in all stages from the lowest idiocy to the highest genius.

The following works and articles are arranged in chronological order. Some have been published by the United States Senate, and U. S. Bureau of Education, and others by private agencies; the majority have appeared in specialistic journals of this and other countries. Many contain bibliographies, some of which are quite extensive.

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